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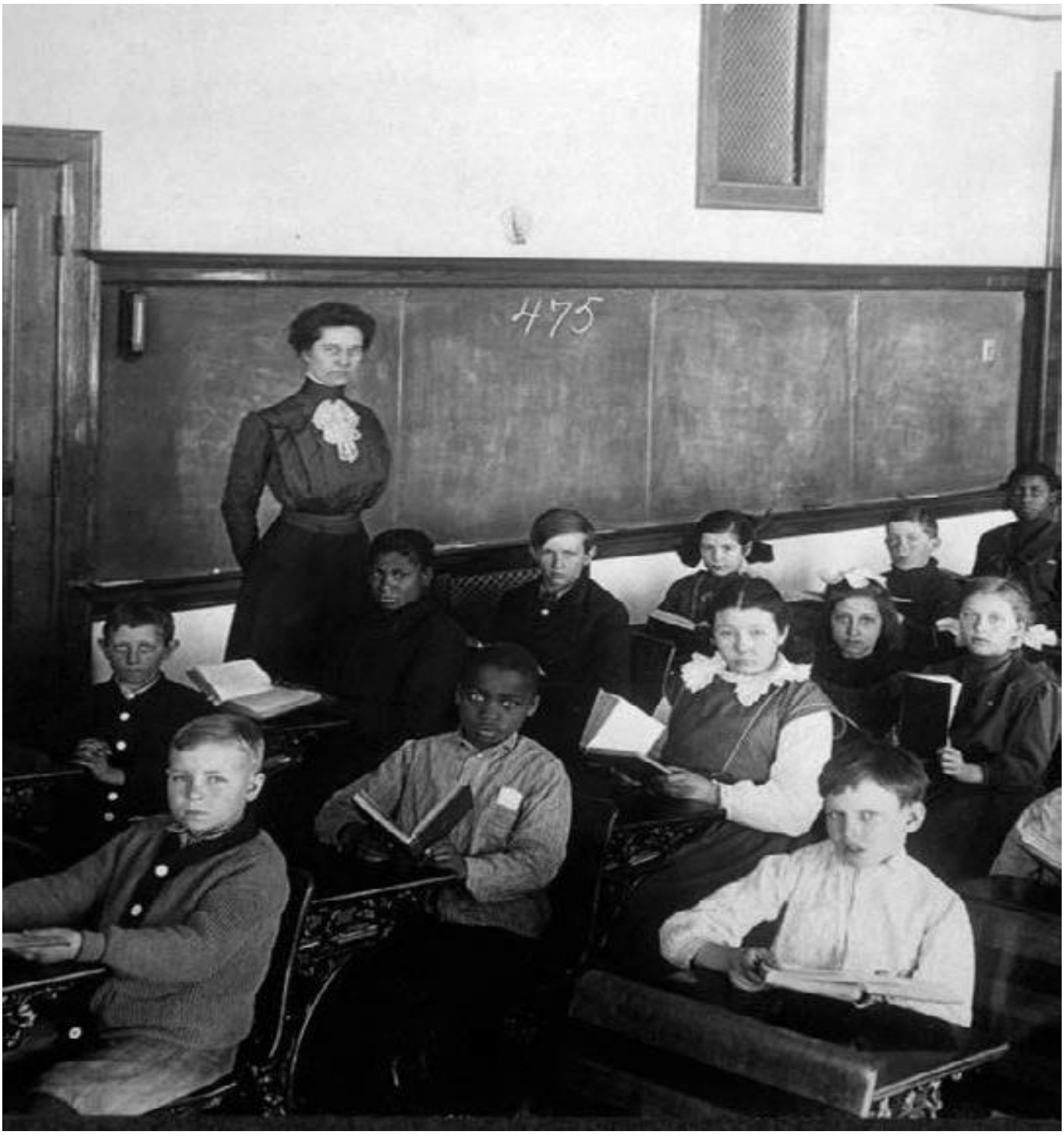

About the Cover

The Donovan Elementary School stood at 944 Wall Street in Ann Arbor for almost 75 years. It was originally constructed in 1909 and named after the local grocer, Patrick Donovan. On the cover, we see one of the few remaining photographs of the Donovan School – the class of Miss Lily E. Goodhew, taken in February 1911. The school was eventually demolished in 1984 to make room for University of Michigan's Kellog Eye Center.

Cover photo title: The Donovan Elementary School; Date: 1911; Collection title: University of Michigan; Located in Bentley Historical Library

A Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

Dear Readers,

I am happy to report that the Michigan Journal of History has once again received a record number of submissions from students not only across the country but internationally as well. Our team spent months working our way through these truly impressive submissions, and it was incredibly difficult to decide what would go in to this issue. In the end, we selected the following papers which present often unexplored and overlooked topics and perspectives.

Once again, I cannot extend enough thanks to all those who made this issue a success. As this publication continues to grow, we must constantly learn how to grow and evolve with it. This process takes a lot of patience and dedication, and the editing team behind this journal proved they were up to the challenge—everyone giving their all to make this issue come together. I'd like to thank them all for their efforts as well as the faculty and History Department at the University of Michigan who continue to support this publication. Lastly, thank you to the students who submit and whose hard work continues to exceed our expectations.

Sincerely,

Melissa Durante
Editor-in-Chief, Michigan Journal of History

Michigan Journal of History Editorial Board, Winter 2015

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The Need for Radical Reconstruction: Meridian, Mississippi

Bogdan Belei
University of Michigan

In 1871, only six years removed from slavery, the black community of Meridian, Mississippi, organized in a town hall, fully armed and ready to retaliate against what they viewed as imbalances in the application of justice. Prior to the unfolding events, race relations in Meridian remained quite peaceful – but the increase of blacks and their newfound liberties established an underlying tension among the two groups. With the arrival of outsiders from Alabama, who engaged in intimidating and kidnapping blacks, the fragile balance of tolerance disappeared. This paper aims to illustrate a story in which the incendiary actions of minority groups within the black community instilled fear and heightened the stakes for the local whites. In light of an opportunity for retaliatory violence, local whites responded with an effort to preserve their position of power in the status quo social hierarchy by suppressing and destroying black progress in Meridian, Mississippi.

This case study will focus on a small, but rising town of Meridian, Mississippi, in the year 1871. Due to its historical scope, there are limited secondary sources directly related to the events in Meridian – but the conflict itself can be explored and analyzed within the framework of larger works concerned with violence during the early Reconstruction period, such as Hannah Rosen's *Terror in the Heart of Freedom* and Altina Waller's "Community, Class and Race in the Memphis Riot of 1866." The existing narrative will be extracted from the extensive, detailed thirteen-volume collection of reports and testimonies produced by a forty-second Congress

Congressional committee.[1] An analysis of these reports and testimonies will illustrate Meridian as a racially divided, but relatively peaceful town during the period preceding the riot. The series of events which followed, led to the ultimate suppression of the entire black community, the expulsion of Republican Party interests, and the reestablishment of a political and social order favoring a white, patriarchal hierarchy.

Literature Review

As evidenced in both Hannah Rosen's *Terror in the Heart of Freedom* and Altina Waller's "Community, Class and Race in the Memphis Riot of 1866," the rise of racially motivated violence in the South developed out of complex reasons. In both works, the authors examine physical violence and psychological intimidation by white men in the South as a method to preserve the status quo.[2] The difference between the two works lies in exactly what was at stake for each community. Whereas in Rosen's book, acts of terror were deployed in local communities as a general tool to maintain white patriarchal dominance, Waller's article presents an argument centered around racial targeting as an externality of a general issue over class. Together, the two pieces develop a narrative in which any attempt from blacks to compete in the South transformed into violent retaliation, ultimately subjugating the status of blacks through the use of fear and intimidation.

In the context of this paper, Waller's argument is particularly useful to understanding the events leading up to the riot and the reasons for the initial black mobilization. In his study of the 1866 race riot in Memphis, Waller argues that the dynamics which led to race riots emerged

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[1] *Testimony taken by the Joint Select Committee to inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States: Mississippi*, Vol. I (Washington, DC., Government Printing Office, 1872)

[2] (1) Hannah Rosen. *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Postemancipation South*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.)
(2) Altina L. Waller. "Community, Class and Race in the Memphis Riot of 1866". *Journal of Social History,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Winter, 1984), pp: 233 - 246

primarily from economic tensions caused between newly settled blacks and white, predominantly Irish, unskilled laborers. Diverging from the traditional and most common narrative of racial targeting, Waller states, "…race was not the single or even primary determinant of who would be victimized in the riot. Rioters were angry at newcomers who flooded their neighborhood, not only because they overwhelmed the racial composition of the community, but because they upset its established social and class structure…"[3] This analysis provides an insight to the complexities which emerged from the newly granted rights of relocation and the freedom of movement during Reconstruction. It also presents evidence which argues that a large portion of Memphis remained insulated from race riots, where blacks and whites existed simultaneously without widespread racially-motivated violence. The argument will be made that Meridian similarly existed within the description of racial peace, but crimes committed by incoming Alabamians disrupted relations and led to a provocation of terror campaigns from both local Meridian camps.

Once the level of fear and intimidation heightened due to the incendiary actions of both armed blacks and whites, widespread violence erupted. Through Rosen's analysis of terror campaigns across the South, it becomes evident how specifically targeted events evolved into an exercise of widespread racially motivated violence to ensure both safety and a stake in future hierarchal power. Prior to the collapse of the slave system which dominated the Southern economy since the founding of the United States, members of the abolition movement championed the idea of "Slave Power Conspiracy."[4] The term was used in reference to the tremendous amount of political power seen to be held by Southern slaveholders. Ultimately, with the defeat of the Confederate Army and the Union victory's success in dismantling the hopes and dreams of Southern secessionists, the system upon which Southern whites relied on as

[3] Waller, p. 239
[4] Rebecca Scott, "Dred Scott v. Sanford" (presentation, History 315: The Constitution through American History, Ann Arbor, MI, February 18, 2014.)

the framework for their dominant status in society disappeared, at least legally.[5] The subordination of blacks needed to be established on different grounds and in the absence of law enforcement, subordination developed through the usage of violence and terror. Rosen summarizes the system of terror that emerged as one that, "communicated a fantasy post-Civil War world wherein white men's power approximated that before the war, thereby erasing military defeat and reclaiming the political privileges of whiteness bestowed by the system of slavery even on non-slaveholding white men."[6]

The consequences of establishing a system of terror in the post-Civil War period led to two dominant features that defined the trajectory of violence. First, terror across the South allowed and enabled antebellum Southern male slaveholders to maintain their power as existing members of the aristocracy and patriarchy. Second, and more importantly, it now incentivized *all* white males, including previously non-slaveholding males, to pursue the subjugation of African Americans to ensure their own dominant social status. To accomplish these objectives, Rosen claims that Southern males enacted terror in their capacity as, "patriarchs and masters, where they exercised domestic authority, that, in turn, was widely represented as justifying their claim to citizenship and political power."[7] In their self-proclaimed role as defenders of the community, racist organizations launched invasive and permeating terror campaigns to use fear in establishing the boundaries of social standing. Rosen's extensive and expansive examples of incidents in the South provides a methodological approach which offers a clear understanding of the overarching themes of terror used in local communities, which became a trend throughout the region.

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[5] The dependence of African Americans to white land owners as their only potential source of income would persist for many more years to come. Furthermore, the establishment of the KKK and other racist terror organizations would go on to establish extralegal codes regulating the behavior of blacks in their communities (Rosen, p. 185)
[6] Rosen, p. 180
[7] Rosen, p. 190

Case Study

In the years following the Civil War, the town of Meridian developed into a growing municipality for several reasons. The increase in population – rising to 2,709 by 1870 – was mostly driven by the expansion of a business district in the downtown area. [8] In addition to employment incentives, the town also offered fair social conditions – most likely much more favorable than surrounding areas, as evidenced later by the arrival of the armed Alabamian group. From multiple witness testimonies, Meridian existed as a racially divided, but peaceful town. When asked whether "The negroes themselves have behaved properly and discreetly in that respect, so far as you have seen?," an editor of a Pontotoc County newspaper and a lawyer, Robert W. Flournoy, stated, "Yes, sir; I think they have, so far as I have seen. I have myself always been upon the most friendly terms with the colored people."[9] Many others shared Flournoy's sentiments – but certainly it was advantageous for local whites to subscribe as non-violent, peaceful residents in order to protect themselves and others in town. The reality, most likely, was that while outright violence between whites and blacks did not frequently occur, the ever increasing influence of free blacks in Meridian was disconcerting.

The prospects of jobs and the limited subjugation of blacks, both, appealed to Daniel Price--a white, Alabama man who would become a Meridian school teacher.[10] Following constant threats for his support of the Republican Party, Price decided to move to Meridian, Mississippi, only 5 miles west, and brought a number of blacks along. The impact of the increasing migration significantly affected the farmers in Alabama, who were now unable to find

[8] Seth Cagin; Philip Dray (2006). *We Are Not Afraid: The Story of Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney and the Civil Rights Campaign for Mississippi*. Nation Books. pp. 199–201.
[9]" Late Insurrectionary States", p. 120
[10] Ibid, pg. 8 (O.C. French)

labor.[11] To remedy the significant losses of migrating black laborers, Alabama Democrats sent Adam Kennard – a black man and friend-turned-rival of Price, to arrest and transport blacks back to Sumter County.[12] According to testimony from William Ford, prosecuting attorney for the State, Kennard had no legal authority, and acted as a trespasser in Mississippi.[13] Kennard's presence and actions angered Price, who along with a half a dozen or more men, visited Kennard in the night and beat him.[14]

Following Price's arrest, the conflict between the races came to the forefront. There was a general outrage from the black community, as Price, a white man, was charged under the "Ku Klux" law while defending blacks from being unlawfully reclaimed as the property of Alabamian farmers. The whites on the other hand, as according to Mr. Ford, generally regarded Price as, "a very bad man, and a man whose only associates were the colored people."[15] This statement followed other parts of Ford's testimony in which he noted that "a man who associated with Negroes on terms of social equality would lose his place in Meridian society."[16] Nevertheless, while the tension amongst the two camps was heightened over Price's violent retaliation, the close community refrained from violence. Then, on the day of Price's trial, O.C French, a Mississippi House Representative, testified that "as many as one hundred to two hundred and fifty" armed persons came from Alabama to Meridian, and "stacked their arms in the street."[17] According to Robert J. Mosley, Meridian's sheriff, the mayor drafted a warrant to arrest some of the parties involved, but after speaking to several prominent citizens, the Sheriff

[11] McGehee, Katharine Louise, The Meridian Race Riot of 1871 (BA Honors Thesis). (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida State University, 1966), p. 5
[12] Ibid., p. 4
[13] "Late Insurrectionary States", p. 103 (William Ford)
[14] Ibid, p. 112 (William Ford)
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., p. 120
[17] Ibid., p. 9 (O.C. French)

made the decision to not make any arrests for fear of bloodshed.[18] When asked about the arrival of the Alabamians, Officer Pelton answered, "there is an organization, but I cannot say that it is secret, that goes to work and says it shall be so, and it is done; the sheriff, in my opinion, did not do as I would have done had I been sheriff."[19]

The entire situation surrounding the arrival of the Alabamians presents circumstances in which lawless, armed men seized both the safety of the blacks and the confidence of the whites in Meridian. The conflict was, at the very least, born through the meddling of, what testimony claims to be, Alabama farmers and Democrats – for either economic or political reasons. As WMS. Patton testified, "I believe they were the prime movers of it; I do not think there was any serious difficulty between the two races previous to the raid of the Alabamians."[20] According to testimonies from both whites and blacks, Democrats and Republicans, Patton's description of Meridian's peaceful relations was accurate. Yet when analyzing testimony, it's necessary to remember the incentives associated with blaming outsiders as perpetrators of the crimes, ridding all responsibility and blame from the local community. While Price's trial was postponed and ultimately dismissed, the visiting Alabamians added insult to injury by carrying away three more blacks with them. Joshua Smith, Chancery Clerk, would testify that "most citizens of Meridian, including Democrats, opposed the Alabama men taking the Negroes away. Nothing was done to prevent it because the citizens were afraid a disturbance would be created."[21] In the presence of intimidation and in the absence of the rule of law, the black community set out to mobilize their forces. The power vacuum, facilitated by inactive Meridian law enforcement and community

[18] Ibid., p. 25 (Robert J. Mosely)
[19] Ibid., p. 27 (T. J. Pelton)
[20] Ibid., p. 29 (WM S. Patton)
[21] McGehee, p. 10

members, encouraged black leaders, such as Warren Tyler and Bill Clopton, to mobilize their men and engage in what would ultimately turn the local community against them.

The height of the black resistance culminated with a meeting on Saturday, March 4th, at Meridian's Lauderdale County Courthouse. William Ford would recount the weeks following up to meeting by stating that, "the general conduct of the colored people as members of the community was very much changed and not at all calculated to preserve the peaceful relations between white people and the Negroes."[22] According to McGehee, and derived from several other testimonies, the firing of guns and marching through the streets by groups of black men became a nightly occurrence.[23] On several occasions, blacks would arrest and harass local whites, threatening to charge them as "Ku-Kluxers."[24] The night of the meeting, Tyler, Clopton and Aaron Moore all made speeches of various degrees, but most witnesses would testify that they were of incendiary nature. H. N. Berry, a citizen in attendance, recalled Tyler specifically stating that "if people didn't mind the city would be in ashes in less than three weeks."[25] Only an hour after the meeting concluded, a large fire spread throughout a building known to be owned by Theodore Sturgis, the mayor's brother. While the disputes over the origins of the fire developed, McGehee argued that it was generally known that the black community resented the Mayor for releasing Price despite the pressure from the white community and the number of armed Alabamians.[26] While the whites sought Price's conviction, the blacks preferred he stand fair trial and receive justice through the process of acquittal – which would offer an acknowledgement from authorities that Price's actions were justified in the absence of adequate protection against kidnappings. The following morning, Tyler, Clopton, and Moore were all

[22] "Late Insurrectionary States", p. 116 (William Ford)
[23] McGehee, p 13
[24] "Late Insurrectionary States", p. 159 (T. Williams & Hurlbutt Hoges)
[25] Ibid., p. 157 (H.N. Berry)
[26] McGehee, p. 12

apprehended and put on trial for inciting the fire and the various shootings that occurred around town. During the trial, an undetermined individual – although many witnesses testified it was Tyler – discharged a firearm and administered the final spark to ignite widespread violence against the Meridian blacks.

For the remainder of Sunday, March 5th, various accounts of violence erupted across the city. The black community was, by far, disproportionately harmed, both as persons and as property owners. Among some of the larger acts committed was the burning of Moore's house and the Baptist Church.[27] In addition to the destruction, the end tally for murdered blacks reached a count of thirty. The reaction for much of the testimony illustrates a complete overhaul of Meridian by the Alabamians. Grandville Henderson, an assistant assessor, testified that "if this community had any intention of killing the blacks, they would have done it when they all had arms; there were only a few of the blacks against which any animosity existed."[28] Robert Leachman, Circuit Judge for the Sixth District, shared similar sentiments, stating, "… if the facts were proven before a jury, the parties could be convicted, and if any man could be identified who took part in the killing of the three men, if brought before the jury and proven, would be punished."[29] Yet despite the overwhelming perceptions of morality within Meridian's community, Officer Pelton noted that "nearly all of the white men in town were out there with them."[30] According to McGehee, the logical understanding of these conflicting testimonies points to the idea that while the Alabamians were most likely responsible for most of the actions, they were also used as scapegoats.[31] It's difficult to believe a scenario in which the Alabamians were freely destructing a city while Meridian citizens simply following along to spectate. In the

[27] "Late Insurrectionary States", pg. 72 (J.R. Smith)
[28] Ibid., p. 35 (Henderson)
[29] Ibid., p. 26 (Leachman)
[30] Ibid., p. 28 (Pelton)
[31] McGehee., p. 68

midst of the chaos, yet another power vacuum emerged – this time to enact revenge on a black population that was clearly crossing what whites perceived as their boundaries. Rosen's analysis of using domestic violence and terror to suppress challengers of the status quo came to fruition in the aftermath of the Meridian Riot. Only one Alabama Ku Klux man was convicted of the rape of Ellen Parton, a black house maid.[32] Many blacks and certain whites refused to testify due to fear of persecution. Others refused to testify under oath to protect their families, neighbors, friends, or most importantly, the fundamental system which granted them a superior standing in society.

Conclusion

The Meridian Riot of 1871 exists within history as a small-scale example of a turning point in the Reconstruction Era. While the initial conflict may have emerged from the provocations of racist elements with specific interests, the unfolding of violence evidenced a reality in which the subjugation of blacks became a much broader societal response to any competition to the white ruling order. The prior lack of violence in Meridian did not necessarily signify the lack of tension. Whites in Meridian, even if opposed, could bear the kidnapping of local blacks. However, when Price and others mobilized the black community, the stakes to protect the white man's superiority were heightened, and prompted violence. The Meridian Riot became a highly championed Ku Klux Klan victory, used to "encourage whites throughout the Deep South to believe that 'redemption' from the evils of Reconstruction was possible."[33] On the other hand, for Republicans, the conflict signified the absolute necessity of implementing Radical Reconstruction. Upon being expelled from Meridian by 300 strong guns, the Republican Mayor was quoted as follows: "I am much a sufferer in pain and feeling, but I believe that the

[32] "Late Insurrectionary States", p. 39 (Ellen Parton)
[33] "We Are Not Afraid", p. 199

State of Mississippi is able to indemnify me. Let me urge the necessity of having martial law proclaimed through every Southern State. The soldiery to be sent there should be quartered on the Rebels. Leniency will not do. Gratitude, they have none. Reciprocation of favors they never dream of."[34]

[34] "Riots and Murder at Meridian, Miss.," *The New York Daily Times*, (March, 16, 1871), p. 1

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3. Robert J. Mosely
4. T. J. Pelton
5. W.M S Patton
6. Ellen Parton
7. T. Wiliams
8. Hurlbutt Hodges
9. H.N. Berry
10. J.R. Smith
11. Grandville Henderson
12. Robert Leachman

Waller, Altina L.. "Community, Class and Race in the Memphis Riot of 1866". *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Winter, 1984), pp: 233 – 246

Rhyolite, Nevada: The Rhetoric of a Ghost Town

Lydia Cornett
Princeton University

"Show me your newspaper and I will tell you what kind of a town you have… There is no better barometer of the conditions or character of a town than its newspapers."[1] The town this quotation refers to is Rhyolite, Nevada, a mining ghost town located in southern Nye County. From 1905 to 1911, Rhyolite was one of the most successful mining towns in the nation, known as *the* metropolis of southern Nevada. Boasting three railroad lines, dozens of hotels, forty-five saloons, and a red light district during its prime, Rhyolite was a vibrant cultural center alive with activity. By 1920, however, it was completely abandoned. Shortly after its desertion, it was resurrected as a popular tourist destination. This paper will investigate Rhyolite's dramatic transformation by analyzing different projections of the town's history-- focusing on a parallel rhetoric in the town's leading mining newspapers and more contemporary sources.

Early twentieth-century American newspapers differed from today's journalism and its expected standards. While small-town newspapers aimed to make citizens aware of their surroundings and notify them of changes that took place, they had a tendency to shape readers' thoughts with their own opinions about current events.[2] Objectivity in journalism as an ideal was not addressed until much later in the century; in fact, most journalists were expected to hold a partisan view of events in their region. Many newspapers showered their readers with hyperbolic language and sentiments of American optimism. This approach did not undergo a major change until after World War I, when sensationalist American propaganda reached its peak.

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[1] *Beatty Bullfrog Miner*, December 14, 1907.
[2] This is a recognized point of view as best established in Michael Schudson's *Discovering The News: A Social History Of American Newspapers*, a source I will return to later in my paper.

Looking at the history of Rhyolite projected through contemporary sources, one can recognize an amount of boastful glorification that exists in the now ghost town's representation as a tourist attraction. This is evident in modern scholarship, which details Rhyolite's many successes and attractions during its prime, which lasted from 1905 to 1911. Even more curious is how newspapers projected Rhyolite during those glory years. I argue that in the newspapers from the town's boom period, there exists a rhetoric of town pride and superiority, which parallels the tourism-selling stance of Rhyolite today. In my paper, I explore the reasons the newspapers may have had for instilling this optimism: town reassurance and encouragement in times of panic, pre-World War I American buoyancy, and self-promotion. I will examine the projected attitude of Rhyolite by its newspapers in the context of its representation in later source material and arrive at my own conclusion about the origins of their parallel rhetoric.

Among tourist destinations of the American West, ghost towns—deserted mining, milling, and lumbering communities from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—are some of the most popular, because of their associations with the "Old West" and the American frontier. With saloons, mining sites, and even red light districts, ghost towns perpetuate prototypical images of a romantic and mythologized West. From a historical standpoint, ghost towns are unique because they require visitors to interpret and invent their own historical narratives. Traditionally, Americans are not accustomed to interpreting the past through ruins since the United States offers so few examples of architectural decay compared to the rest of the world.[3] However, ghost towns provide visitors' imaginations with an active role in their experience of the ruins. Ruins that we associate with human experiences, such as churches,

[3] Diana Strazdes, "The Display of Ruins: Lessons from the Ghost Town of Bodie," *Change Over Time, Vol. 3, No. 2* (2013): 222-243.

school houses, and homes, often elicit an emotional reaction.[4] Do these ruins represent what is real? Or do they allow visitors to project their own meaning that appeals to their sense of heritage? It is these questions that make ghost towns fascinating sites that combine history, culture, and tourism.

Most scholarship on ghost towns of the American West is centered on California and Arizona, based on famous, well-preserved sites such as Bodie, California and Jerome, Arizona.[5] Nevada, however, is home to many ghost towns that were simply never preserved as historical sites. Therefore, much of what scholars know about Nevada ghost towns comes from mining journals, census reports, and town newspapers. Ghost towns in Nevada did gain fame during the 1920s along with the rise of the state's other tourist destinations, most prominent being the Great Basin, Death Valley, and Lake Mead National Parks. Seeking to revitalize Nevada's economy, Governor James G. Scrugham developed a plan for increasing tourism, which sparked an interest in both the natural and historical heritage of the state.[6] His plan supported natural features such as the Grand Canyon and Chloride Cliffs as well as "things of historical interest," such as archeological findings and ghost towns.[7] With the rise of the auto tourism industry during the 1950s, Nevada ghost towns were even more accessible to American tourists from all over the country. A 1980 architectural study of Nevada's ghost towns uses building material as a type of historical data. The record starts with structures made of canvas—the least durable, imaginative, and permanent building material—and ends in concrete—a material that allowed for economical

[4] Ibid., 226.
[5] See James E. and Barbara H. Sherman's *Ghost Towns of Arizona* and Marguerite Sprague's *Bodie's Gold: Tall Tales and True History from a California Mining Town.*
[6] Thomas R. Cox, "Before the Casino: James G. Scrugham, State parks, and Nevada's Quest for Tourism," *The Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. 24, No. 3* (1993): 332-350.
[7] Ibid., 343.

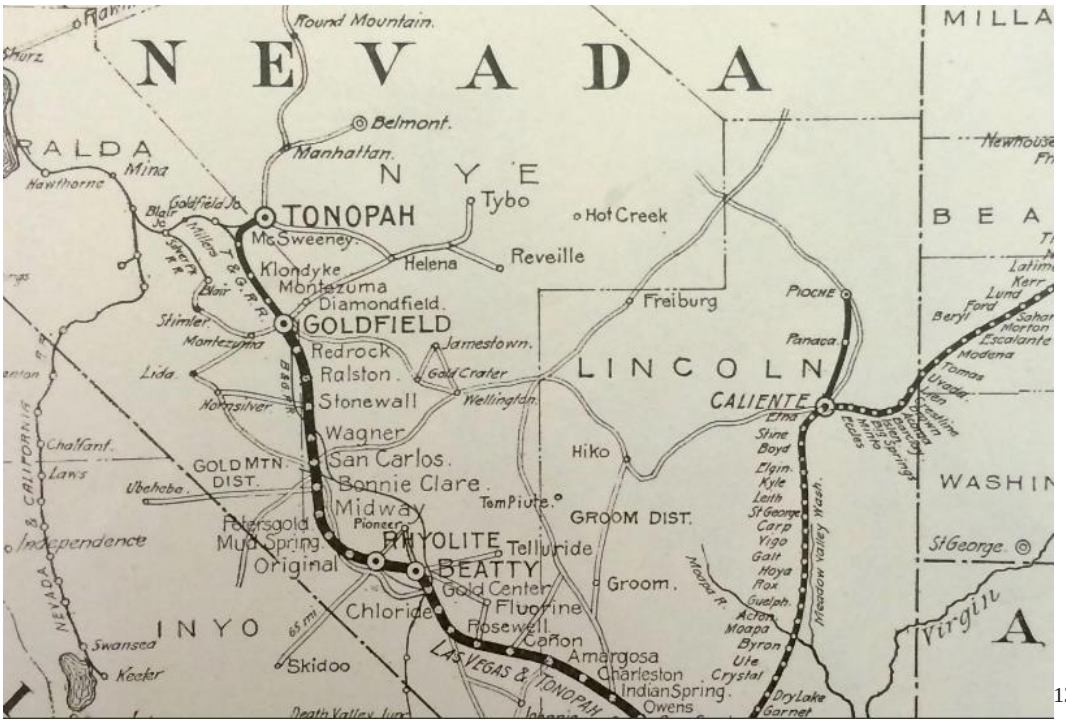
construction of massive buildings that could easily be abandoned.[8] This study depicts the evolution of Nevada ghost towns from initial makeshift camps to more permanent, metropolitan communities-- a concept I will revisit regarding the town of Rhyolite in Nye County, Nevada.

Ever since gold was first discovered in Nevada during the 1850s, mining has been one of the most popular sources of revenue for the state's economy.[9] It still stands as Nevada's largest export industry today.[10] Other industries, such as railroads, mills, and electricity, were initially developed to sustain the mining business. Yet, after economic crises such as the Panic of 1907, along with the boom and bust cycle of many mining towns, it became common knowledge by the early twentieth century that the business was transient. The *San Francisco Chronicle* deemed it a "collapsed industry" as early as 1913.[11] Mining supplied a narrow and unreliable economic base that was incapable of sustaining growth.[12] An area of Nevada that was particularly impacted by the industry was Nye County, most famous for the mining booms of Goldfield, Tonopah, and Rhyolite.

A primary reason that Rhyolite is known as one of the most successful mining towns of Nevada is its location, geographical assets, and proximity to water. These features are notable enough to be recognized by an explorer in 1886, a year that coincided with the formations of the

[8] Dave Basso, *Architecture of Necessity and Opportunity in Nevada Ghost Towns* (Sparks: Falcon Hill Press, 1988).
[9] Francis C. Lincoln, *Outline of Nevada Mining History* (Reno: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology, 1993): 8.
[10] Nevada Governor's Office of Economic Development, *Key Industries: Mining,* http://diversifynevada.com/key-industries/mining.
[11] "As Deserted as Ancient Thebes." *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov 29, 1913.
[12] Cox, "Before the Casino," 335.

first mining camp settlements in Death Valley.


[13]

In his 1886 account *To Death Valley*, Colonel Thomas W. Brooks recounts his trip from Ponoma, California, to the future site of Beatty, Nevada (one of Rhyolite's "sister" mining towns).[14] For a personal memoir, Brooks goes into great detail about *why* Death Valley was physically and geographically able to support and sustain a mining town. He writes that throughout much of the nineteenth century, western explorers avoided Death Valley because of the few known routes through the valley, the extreme heat, and the lack of nearby water sources. However, during Brooks' time, Death Valley promised "to be one of the principal sources of wealth in the country…a more thoroughly mineralized county of ore exposed or more accessible I have never seen."[15] Many of Brooks' observations predict future markers of Rhyolite's success. For example, he defines the upper valley of the Amargosa River as an oasis, with hot and cold

[13] *The Rhyolite Herald*, May 1909 Pictorial Issue.
[14] Anthony Lehman, *By Buckboard to Beatty: The California-Nevada Desert in 1886 (*Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970).
[15] Lehman, *By Buckboard to Beatty*, 13.

springs and areas of rich soil deposits. Accordingly, today, one of the few places that the Amargosa River rises above ground level is in Beatty, Nevada. This water source—one of few in the Death Valley desert—certainly accounted for the successes of Beatty and Rhyolite. Finally, Brooks proposes his idea for a "very natural and practical" railroad route that would parallel the Amargosa River. As Brooks predicted, when the Tonopah and Tidewater Railroad was built in 1906, it ended at the Nye County mining towns of Tonopah and Goldfield (which are very close to Beatty and Rhyolite). One of Rhyolite's major feats as a thriving and modern town was its acquisition of three railroad lines, more than any mining town in the West had at the time. Here, we can see that Brooks' 1886 observations about the physical features of Nye County and Death Valley had implications for the success and sustainability of Rhyolite.

The "Rhyolite Rush" began on August 9, 1904 when Frank "Shorty" Harris found the first ore specimen in the Bullfrog District with his partner, Eddie Cross.[16] News of this strike reached Goldfield, a large neighboring mining town. According to Harold and Lucille Weight in *Rhyolite: Death Valley's City of Golden Dreams*, Rhyolite was created by "Goldfield fever": Goldfield latecomers, Goldfield citizens who wanted more mining luck, and stock speculators from the East and West Coasts who were anticipating another "Goldfield miracle."[17] To many observers on the East Coast, these "boomers" were senseless, money-obsessed prospectors, "like children on a sea bench—one finds a pretty shell and they all run for it, shrieking with

[16] James R Moffat, *Memoirs of an old-timer: A personal glimpse of Rhyolite, Nevada, 1906-1910.* Yucca Valley: The Sagebrush Press, 1963.
[17] Harold and Lucille Weight, *Rhyolite: Death Valley's Ghost City of Golden Dreams (*Twentynine Palms: Calico Press, 1975).

excitement."[18] Within months, Rhyolite was receiving stampedes of new settlers every day. The following exclamation comes from the *Rhyolite Herald* on May 5, 1905[19]:

> What a procession! Men on foot, burros, mule teams, freights, light rigs, saddle outfits, automobiles, houses on wheels—all coming down the line from Tonopah and Goldfield, raising a string of dust a hundred miles long.[20]

Although Rhyolite shared the Bullfrog district with two other towns—Bullfrog and Beatty—it quickly rose to be the most metropolitan. With the water supply from the springs of the Amargosa River, a company was formed to pipe water to Rhyolite with hydrant and barrel services.[21] Rhyolite was also quick to copy the other towns' achievements. When Bullfrog built a post office, Rhyolite also built a post office. When Bullfrog published *The Bullfrog Miner*, Rhyolite started *The Rhyolite Herald.* Within the year, Bullfrog lost the competition when its businesses began to lose to Rhyolite's. On May 4, 1906, the Rhyolite Herald exclaimed "VERILY, THE BULLFROG CROAKETH: The last mercantile establishment in the town of Bullfrog has quit business, and the big frame building has been hauled bodily to Rhyolite."[22] Beatty, on the other hand, is the only mining town from the Bullfrog District that currently survives today, mainly because of its proximity to the Amargosa River. While other towns had to build pipelines, "Beatty just sank a 28-foot well in the middle of the business district, put up a windmill—and even the burros had plenty."[23] Beatty also was on the route between Goldfield

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[18] Harry Carr, "CRAZIEST RUSH SWIRLS AROUND THORPE'S WELL," *Los Angeles Times*, March 19, 1905.
[19] The historical newspapers that I will continually reference throughout my paper were preserved by a variety of organizations, including the University of Nevada, Las Vegas Libraries and the Nevada Historical Society.
[20] *The Rhyolite Herald*, May 5, 1905.
[21] C.B. Glasscock, *Gold in Them Hills: The Story of the West's Last Wild Mining Days (*Las Vegas: Nevada Publications, 1932).
[22] *The Rhyolite Herald*, May 4, 1906.
[23] Harold and Lucille Weight, *Ghost City of Golden Dreams*, 9.

and Las Vegas, and it was situated next to the fertile "Oasis Valley" of the Amargosa. However, it was Rhyolite that was known as the "magic city" of the Bullfrog mining district.

Another major event in terms of Rhyolite's success was the arrival of railroads in December 1906. The first line, the Las Vegas and Tonopah Railroad, meant that Nevada citizens no longer had to travel for days on end to reach other parts of the state. In the words of *The Herald*, "It is a pleasure indeed to say good-bye to the old Concord stagecoach and to the 'half-way' stations along the way, and step into a Pullman palace car and travel with comfort and ease."[24] The second line, the Tonopah and Tidewater Railroad, was groundbreaking because it was built *through* Death Valley, a previously avoided and relatively unknown territory. By October 15, 1907, Rhyolite was home to three railroads, "the only place in Nevada of any importance enjoying such an advantage."[25] Other significant advancements included the establishment of electric power and lights by the Nevada-California Power Company and the founding of the First National Bank of Rhyolite, both in the year of 1907. The "metropolitan banking house," featuring "large burglar-proof vaults, latest up-to-date-time-locking devices, safety deposit boxes, and adding machines," was claimed by *The Herald* to be a sign that "the financial kings of the district have explicit confidence in the business-commanding capacity of the camp."[26]

Newspapers were not the only source that could attest to Rhyolite's success. In his *Memoirs of an Old-timer: A Personal Glimpse of Rhyolite, Nevada, 1906-1910*, James Moffat, a land surveyor from San Francisco, gives a description of Rhyolite "in its day":

> The place was really alive with activity during my stay. Golden Street, the main throughfare of town, had some of the finest buildings of that time

[24] *The Rhyolite Herald,* May 1909 Pictorial Issue.
[25] *The Rhyolite Daily Bulletin*, October 15th, 1907.
[26] *The Rhyolite Herald,* May 1909 Pictorial Issue.

> gracing its front. Hotels had sprung up in a short time, and many offered the finest accommodations, second to none…A stock exchange was in business down in Bullfrog, and an opera house, ice cream parlor, and restaurants were opening up in Rhyolite….Rhyolite had two fine hospitals, and many doctors hung their shingles on Golden Street. An ice plant was built down on the flat below town, to supply the numerous saloons with ice. As there were 45 saloons in the two towns, the ice plant was kept busy. Of the many "drinking places" that operated around the clock, the Combination and the Sixty-Six were by far the most boisterous ones. They drew large crowds all the time.[27]

In this account, Moffat highlights Rhyolite's industrial, cultural, and social features. The passage from his narrative is especially important because it is an observational and reflective account of Rhyolite's attractions. While a newspaper might exaggerate or glorify the successes of Rhyolite, a resident of the town can offer much more specific details about what actually existed in Rhyolite at the time.

Moffat's description of the social and community-based successes of the town demonstrates the status of Rhyolite as a vibrant cultural city. Rhyolite offered a public school, Presbyterian and Catholic church, Miners' Union, Women's Relief Corps, and city orchestra.[28] A mining town with social clubs, business groups, and fraternal societies attracted many urban elite folk, all of which helped to raise Rhyolite's status. An article from the *Herald* titled "Prominent Professional Men of Rhyolite" lists educated professionals from the East Coast—surgeons,

[27] Moffat, *Memoirs of an old-timer,* 14.
[28] *The Rhyolite Herald,* May 1909 Pictorial Issue, 5.

lawyers, dentists, and pastors—who decided to make their living in Rhyolite.[29] Harold and Lucille Weight write that most citizens of Rhyolite enjoyed "whist parties, dances at the Opera House, basket and home socials, church-going, and Sunday School picnics to Beatty's Ranch or Howell's in Oasis Valley."[30] This description of Rhyolite culture as refined and sophisticated might make one forget Rhyolite's canvas-structure origins as a mining camp settlement.

Despite these stylish advancements, Rhyolite was not a perfectly polished metropolis. The dangerous and violent lifestyle associated with the Wild West and mining ghost towns—from stories of pickpocketing to saloon gunfights—do hold some truth for Rhyolite. In March of 1907, Rhyolite set up a concrete jail with four steel cells. Apparently, the jail was needed because of quarrels over money that led to gunfights at bars and stabbings of wives.[31] On December 15, 1905, the *Herald* gave a detailed play-by-play of a saloon fight in "DUEL TO THE DEATH: JOHN SULLIVAN AND JAMES C. CLAYTON, FIGHT AND DIE."[32] Rhyolite also had a booming red light district that caused tension within the town—the Union and Board of Trade (Rhyolite's only form of local government) had to issue a decree that confined prostitution to spaces outside of residential areas. The following quotation from postmaster Anna B. Moore personifies this wilder side of Rhyolite culture:

> Musicians used to come down to Rhyolite once a month after we had train service. The train didn't come through again until three a.m.—so we literally danced all night long. Oh, it sure was an interesting time! You

[29] Ibid., 20.
[30] Harold and Lucille Weight, *Ghost City of Golden Dreams*, 15.
[31] Ibid., 27.
[32] Ibid., 14.

> either went to bed broke and woke up a millionaire—or vice versa. And either way was fun. A year at Rhyolite was worth ten years now.[33]

It is this carefree, reckless attitude—dancing all night long, continually losing and winning money —that is so commonly associated with the lifestyle of the West in fictional representations, such as novels and films. However, perhaps Anna B. Moore's memory of Rhyolite was swayed by her nostalgia for the past: "A year at Rhyolite was worth ten years now." Nevertheless, putting this passage into the context of Rhyolite's other achievements lends an interpretation of the town that is much closer to a lively and thriving city than an uncontrollable, unrefined, and disorganized mining settlement.

Unfortunately, Rhyolite's prime was short-lived. Although there are various reasons for Rhyolite's failure, including a general exhaustion of resources and financial hardship in the region, one of the most commonly cited historical moments is the Panic of 1907, the economic crisis that ensued after the New York Stock Exchange fell almost fifty percent from its previous year's peak. According to James Moffat's memoir, the Panic was the event that triggered Rhyolite's instability.[34] In the article "Real Shock, Monetary Aftershock: The 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and the Panic of 1907," Kerry A. Odell and Marc D. Weidenmier state that "unusual gold flows were the cause of most financial crises and business cycles before the founding of the Federal Reserve."[35] This specifically outlines the link between the success of mining towns and the October 1907 stock market crash. The article also highlights another major event—the San Francisco earthquake of 1906—that temporarily halted the flow of capital from the city. Finally, in Thomas R. Cox's article, "Before the Casino: James G. Scrugham, State

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[33] Ibid., 23.
[34] Moffat, *Memoirs of an old-timer*, 12.
[35] Kerry A. Odell and Marc D. Weidenmier, "Real Shock, Monetary Aftershock: The 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and the Panic of 1907," *The Journal of Economic History, Vol. 64, No. 4* (2004).

Parks, and Nevada's Quest for Tourism," he writes that the mining industry was simply not dependable, explaining that "it supplied a narrow, undependable economic base incapable of supporting broad-gauged, sustained economic growth."[36] Shorty Harris, the founder of the first ore specimen in Rhyolite, believed that cause of the demise was stock speculation—stocks in the Bullfrog District were strongly recommended by Eastern brokers, but they were sold for practically nothing.[37] While the continual promise of rich and abundant ore throughout the town's existence may have set it up for failure, the turning point within Rhyolite was the closure of the Montgomery-Shoshone mine in 1911. Before 1911, announcements from *The Herald* preemptively warned Rhyolite's residents: "April 30, 1910. CITIZENS: ACTION NEEDED. The street lights will be turned off after tonight, and the water companies have been notified that the County Commissioners have no funds with which to pay for water in the future. It is now up to the citizens to act."[38] A week later, "NOTICE TO PATRONS: Owing to the fact that we have no banking facilities at Rhyolite, subscribers and others sending remittances will please send postal money orders or Wells Fargo Express orders. And the more you send of these the better we will like you."[39] But perhaps the most telling newspaper announcement that reflected the town's status was the very last one, marking the end of the *Herald.* The *Herald* had already taken over the *Beatty Bullfrog Miner* in May 1909, and the *Rhyolite Daily Bulletin* had gone out of business during the same month. But on April 8, 1911, Earle R. Clemens, the editor of the *Herald*, published a heartfelt resignation from both his paper and his town:

> It is with deep regret that I announce my retirement from the newspaper field in the Bullfrog district. It has been my lot to remain here while all my

[36] Cox, "Before the Casino," 335.
[37] Harold and Lucille Weight, *Ghost City of Golden Dreams*, 18.
[38] *Rhyolite Daily Herald,* April 30, 1910.
[39] Earle R. Clemens, Publisher, *The Rhyolite Daily Herald,* May 7, 1910.

> erstwhile contemporaries have fled, one by one, to more inviting localities, and now it is my time to say goodbye…May prosperity follow you everywhere, and catch up with you, too, and may prosperity gain reign in Rhyolite—the prettiest, coziest mining town on the great American desert, a town blessed with ambitious, hopeful, courageous people, and with a climate second to none on Earth. Goodbye, dear old Rhyolite. –Earle R. Clemens[40]

Clemens' determined will to stay and his faith in the town are evident in his writing, and his final blessing of the Rhyolite truly marks its termination as a mining town. By 1911, a census reported that only 675 residents were left in Rhyolite, compared to its peak of over 10,000 within the first two years of its existence. By 1920, that number had reduced to 22 residents.[41] By this year, Rhyolite had already begun its transformation from a thriving city to a decaying ghost town to be gawked at by visitors. Homes, offices, and restaurants were left completely furnished since residents could not afford to move anything away. A 1914 article from the *San Francisco Chronicle* titled "As Deserted as Ancient Thebes" compares Rhyolite to the historical site of Thebes in ancient Greece, stating that "with the collapse of the mining industry, the camp on the desert that had developed into lusty city almost by magic, has magically reverted to its original locators, the owl and the bat."[42] A surveyor named Will Carruthers told of visiting Rhyolite in the 1920s and, having forgotten to bring eating utensils, borrowed some from a deserted restaurant.[43]

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[40] Ibid., April 8, 1911.
[41] Harold and Lucille Weight, *Ghost City of Golden Dreams*, 21.
[42] *The San Francisco Chronicle*, November 29, 1914.
[43] Ibid.

Rhyolite's transition to a tourist destination started before the town began to fail financially. On October 21, 1907, the *Herald* advertised "Rhyolite's Fine Italian Climate: No Use in Going to the Coast Hunting for a Summer Resort."[44] The article claims "residents of Goldfield, Tonopah, and other northern cities of Nevada, who are nearly always suffering from cold, disagreeable weather, have no conception of the enjoyment to be derived from the almost perfect climate of Rhyolite." Although Colonel Thomas W. Brooks did mention the geographical features and climate of the Bullfrog Hills region in his 1886 account *To Death Valley*, there is not enough information about the weather of Rhyolite and its surrounding towns to know if "Rhyolite's fine Italian climate" was factual. The "almost perfect" weather could very well have been an exaggerated claim of the newspaper that was meant to lure travelers. Over the next few decades, different establishments in the town were converted to tourist attractions. In 1906, saloonkeeper Tom Kelly collected about 30,000 beer, whiskey, and champagne bottles from the backyards of Rhyolite saloons and created a house by embedding them in adobe mud mortar.[45] After the house was deserted, Paramount Pictures restored and re-roofed it in 1925 for a movie set, and it has since been maintained as a museum. It appears that the "Old West" stereotype was beginning to set in just a decade after the mining town was initially abandoned. In a 1923 article, a resident of Calico, California stated "Ghost towns personify the romance of the Old West. That's what draws people."[46] This resident's quotation reveals an understanding of the ghost town market that still holds true today. The resident's salesman attitude demonstrates that the turnaround period for mining town to ghost town was very quick. In 1936, N.C. Westmoreland repaired Rhyolite's railroad station, converting it into a casino and museum. Carl B. Glasscock, a

[44] *Rhyolite Daily Bulletin*, October 21, 1907.
[45] Moffat, *Memoirs of an old-timer*, 10.
[46] Ray Vicker, "Their Gold Is Gone, But Ghost Towns Still Strike It Rich," *The Wall Street Journal*, 1923.

writer for the San Francisco examiner, provides an observational yet dreamy account of Rhyolite from 1932:

> Rhyolite to-day is perhaps the ghostliest of all ghost towns…Its stone buildings still stand, fronting on streets overgrown with sage-brush. Roofs are gone, windows are gone, doors are gone, interior woodwork is gone, ruthlessly looted for firewood by wandering prospectors who still have hopes, but not for Rhyolite...Old newspapers, old letters, old playbills and hand dodgers still clutter basements and rooms into which the burros or the breezes have strayed with devastating results.[47]

Although this passage does not specifically advertise Rhyolite, romanticizing the ruins of Rhyolite can attract tourists to the site. James Moffat also cites "latest mode of transportation, the Touring Car," in the early 1960s as one of the main reasons for the quick rise of the tourism industry.[48] Rhyolite continues to be an accessible tourist destination, conveniently located on the road to Beatty off of Highway 374. The Bottle House and railroad depot are still some of the most popular attractions.

The mining journalism industry in the Bullfrog district was quite innovative for its time. According to Alan Henser's book, "Earl Clemens and the Rhyolite Herald: Twentieth-Century Nevada Pioneers," Earl R. Clemens, the publisher of *The Rhyolite Herald,* was seen as a pioneer in his day because he competed for subscribers with other leading papers.[49] In addition to providing first-hand account of some of the major events that framed Rhyolite's history, historical newspapers also provided a sense of the town's general mindset and attitude.

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[47] C.B. Glasscock, *Gold in Them Hills,* 195.
[48] Moffat, *Memoirs of an old-timer,* 24.
[49] Alan Henser, "Earl Clemens and the Rhyolite Herald: Twentieth-Century Nevada Pioneers," *Southern California Quarterly,* Vol. 49 (1967): 311-325.

According to Michael Schudson in *Discovering The News: A Social History Of American Newspapers*, the primary aim of small-town early American newspapers was to make citizens aware of their surroundings and notify them of changes that took place.[50] However, Schudson also recognizes the tendency of journalists to shape readers' thoughts with their own attitudes. He writes that the newspaper standard of objectivity, a "separation of facts from values," did not come into effect until the mid-twentieth century—in fact, most newspapers were expected to hold a partisan view of events in their region. "Before the 1920s, journalists did not think much about the subjectivity of perception...American society, despite serious problems, remained buoyant with hope and promise."[51] The partisan tendency of most American newspaper journalism did not undergo a major change until after sensationalist propaganda reached its highest point during World War I.

The standard of objectivity is an issue that arises in analyzing newspapers from the Bullfrog mining district. Three newspapers in particular—*The Rhyolite Daily Bulletin*, *The Beatty Bullfrog Miner*, and *The Rhyolite Herald*—bear a writing style that presents a distinct sense of Rhyolite pride that verges on boastfulness. While these are valuable sources for getting a perception of towns within the Bullfrog District, their credibility is more suspicious. One would think that a source that provides the news would be one of the most trustworthy, but these local newspapers were quick to glorify Rhyolite's achievements and often make grand, unsupported claims which I will analyze in the following section of the paper.

The Rhyolite Daily Bulletin came into existence shortly after the *Rhyolite Herald*, but it had a slightly different purpose than its competitor. According to its recurring advertisements, the *Bulletin* was meant to provide more general updates about life in the district, ranging from

[50] Michael Schudson, *Discovering The News: A Social History Of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1978).
[51] Ibid., 8.

practical advice to a list of who had recently come into or left town. The *Beatty Bullfrog Miner* and *The Rhyolite Daily Herald*, on the other hand, served as Rhyolite's long-standing, "enterprising newspapers."[52] The *Bulletin*, a four-page, three-column sheet, was a reliable source of information for current events in the district, but with a more conversational delivery. On September 24th, 1907, in what could have been a short, unbiased announcement about the outcome of a school election, the *Bulletin* stated "Rhyolite is to be congratulated on the outcome of the school election held yesterday. But then Rhyolite's progressive citizens always do the right thing."[53] This congratulatory attitude is propagated on any noteworthy event; for example, a renovation of the local hospital: "Rhyolite is proud of the Miners' hospital, which was built when very few people were willing to take a chance on the district being a permanent one."[54] Other declarations perpetuate the image of Rhyolite as a metropolis. In an announcement from 1907, the *Bulletin* proudly states, "the placing of ore lights on the principal corners will be a great improvement for the coming winter. Rhyolite is indeed beginning to put on city airs."[55] In a more impassioned passage from October 29th of the same year, the *Bulletin* claims:

> No mining district ever discovered in the United States has ever been as speedily supplied with transportation and other necessary facilities for the proper handling of business as the Bullfrog and Rhyolite. Think of a camp 125 miles from nowhere, on a desert, no water, fuel, or any of the necessities of life, only two and a half years old, having three railroads! Can you point to another one in the entire world?[56]

[52] *Rhyolite Daily Bulletin,* September 28, 1907.
[53] Ibid., September 24th, 1907.
[54] Ibid., October 11th, 1907.
[55] Ibid., October 17th, 1907.
[56] Ibid., October 29th, 1907.

This quotation, describing a town that defies the odds, particularly depicts the mindset of town pride and conviction. However, October 1907 being the date that this passage was written is also significant. Could these congratulatory exclamations be methods for convincing citizens to remain in Rhyolite? In the first months after the Panic of 1907, Rhyolite claimed to be in much better shape than many other mining towns. In mid-October of that year, *The Bulletin* asserted that "Rhyolite and the Bullfrog district are all right" and the panic was "becoming a thing of the past and in a short time will only be an unpleasant memory."[57] Meanwhile, the neighboring town of Goldfield had suffered due to the economic effects of the Panic, and by December of 1907, the town's banks were unable to stay open and the Goldfield Mine was closed down. The *Bulletin* continued to publish seemingly gleeful headlines that announced Rhyolite's success: November 3rd "No Failures in Rhyolite," November 14th "Bullfrog District in Good Shape," and December 5th "New Currency of Rhyolite."[58] Another reason for this boastful sentiment may have been to promote the newspaper business itself, rather than the actual town of Rhyolite. In a passage reprinted from the Denver Financial Bulletin on November 7, 1907, the *Bulletin* states:

> The Bullfrog district is becoming metropolitan enough to support a daily paper, and the newsboys' cry of "extra!" will soon resound in the streets of its metropolis, Rhyolite. The name of the infantum is The Rhyolite Daily Bulletin…and it displays plenty of evidence of the same thrift and push which are responsible for the phenomenal growth of journalism in the land of silver, sunshine and sage brush.[59]

[57] Ibid., October 19, 1907.
[58] Ibid., November 3; November 14; and December 5, 1907.
[59] Ibid., November 7, 1907.

Perhaps the *Bulletin* adopted an attitude that promoted the town of Rhyolite in order to advance "the growth of journalism in the land of silver, sunshine and sage brush," or, in other words, to appear attractive to prospective subscribers.

Despite its name, the *Beatty Bullfrog Miner* focused just as much on Rhyolite as Beatty or Bullfrog. In the early years—1905 and 1906—most advertisements were for stocks or leading hotels in Rhyolite. *The Miner* adopted a similar confidence-instilling attitude during the months following the Panic of 1907, with constant preaching of the victory of Rhyolite's banks: "Never has one of our banks even been under suspicion…It can also be said to the credit of the people of Rhyolite, that they are not easily scared or stampeded."[60] The writer goes on to restate that the banks are in "splendid shape" and have plenty of money to meet their obligations,[61]which glorifies not only the establishment of Rhyolite, but the morality of its citizens. The statements that uphold the durability of Rhyolite's banks seem to be intended to reassure the people of Rhyolite during a time when they might be exposed to different news sources that publicize the economic struggles of other towns. Overall, this passage appears to be initiating a revival of town spirit, speaking particularly to the "good judgment" and "integrity" of Rhyolite's citizens. Throughout 1908 and even as late as early 1909, the *Miner* continued to assure its citizens that the Bullfrog District was in good hands, with headlines such as "Bullfrog the Best Camp in the State" or "District Growing Daily" as late as early 1909.[62] A June 6, 1908 article titled "FAITH IN BULLFROG IS SENATOR W.A. CLARK'S LONG AND STRONG SUIT," Nevada Senator William A. Clark, speaking at the construction of a new Rhyolite passenger station, states that "we certainly would not be completing this station, which is certainly a credit to any town five

[60] *Beatty Bullfrog Miner*, November 2, 1907.
[61] Perhaps these reassurances were also necessary to ensure that protests or bank stampedes did not ensue.
[62] *Beatty Bullfrog Miner*, December 21, 1907; February 5, 1909.

times the size of Rhyolite, if we did not think conditions warranted it."[63] He goes on to predict that "a few months more will see the country back to where it was before the panic." However, by July 1909, stockholding companies were in severe debt, and in September of the same year, the Bullfrog Bank and Trust Company was taken over by the State Banking Board of Nevada.

Even more than the *Rhyolite Daily Bulletin,* the *Beatty Bullfrog Miner* saw itself as a representation of the town. In other words, the success of mining journalism directly reflected the success of Rhyolite. The following is from a short article entitled "The Newspaper: Barometer of the Community" from December 14th, 1907:

> "Show me your newspaper and I will tell you what kind of a town you have." True; there is no better barometer of the conditions or character of a town than its newspapers. If the business interests of a community are provincial the papers will be provincial; if they are up-to-date and prosperous, the papers will show prosperity. …The Bullfrog Miner is a live-up-to-date newspaper because Rhyolite is a live-up-to-date community, peopled by loyal, progressive, public-spirited business men, who stand ever ready to do their part in supporting not only the newspapers but all other worthy public or semi-public enterprises. The people of Rhyolite and the Bullfrog District, we may be pardoned for saying, are proud of The Bullfrog Miner. They are proud of the Rhyolite Herald. These papers, in turn, are proud of the high-grade citizenship of the camp which has been a great factor in contributing to their success.[64]

[63]Ibid., June 6, 1908.
[64] Ibid., December 14, 1907.

In this passage, we see a connection between the citizens of Rhyolite, the mining journalism industry, and the town itself. While it certainly served to foster a sense of community, it is unclear whether this prideful rhetoric was a necessity for keeping the town together in a time of crisis. For example, why should the *Miner* emphasize the idea of newspapers as the "barometer of the community" to subscribers that it already has? Perhaps the editors and publishers of the papers were beginning to experience a decline in business and were attempting to prevent it. Again, the persuasive language arrives to the morality of Rhyolite's citizens, praising its "loyal, progressive, public-spirited business men" and "high-grade citizenship." The combination of this post-Panic persuasion and newspaper self-promotion manifested in 1908. On June 27th, the *Miner* affirmed that it had received more subscriptions than usual, an event that indicated "a revival of interest in mining throughout the country."[65] All three newspapers—The *Bulletin*, *Miner,* and *Herald*—regularly reported mining prices and stock information from surrounding mines in the Bullfrog District. However, this quotation specifically refers to newspapers subscribers as a way to assess mining interest. Many of the subscription requests came from East Coast subscribers, at which the *Miner* commented, "An Eastern man never evinces any interest in this paper unless he has a leaning toward making investments." One of the more anxious pleas occurs in December of the same year:

> As this paper has often remarked, THE MAN WHO STAYS WITH THE BULLFROG IS THE ONE WHO WILL WIN OUT IN THE LONG RUN. Whatever of courage or faith or optimism may have been required at times, especially during the last twelve months, to inspire the use of the words that are printed in capital letters above, The Miner uses them today

[65] Ibid., June 27th, 1908.

> with more enthusiasm and emphasis than ever before. There is not a person in camp who does not feel that the Bullfrog is about to enter an era of great mining and commercial prosperity…The world, too, is beginning to realize that Bullfrog is not a one-mine or a two-mine camp. [66]

This passage's blatant desperation and exaggerated claims that "There is not a person in camp," make the writing seem much less credible. Here, the newspaper seems to recognize that its request may be deemed unpopular or impractical. It asks citizens for their faith in Rhyolite, but for what motive? It is difficult to ascertain if the ultimate goal is the success of Rhyolite, the success of the *Miner*, or a combination of the two.

The Rhyolite Daily Herald, the third competitor in the Bullfrog district, served as the main, long-standing general newspaper for citizens of Rhyolite.[67] By 1909, it was available in newsstands throughout the country, including Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York. In May of 1909, the *Herald* released an extended pictorial edition. Rather than providing the most recent news, this edition commemorated the success of Rhyolite and other towns by compiling a history of the Bullfrog Mining District's industrial, technological, and social achievements. It is interesting to note the release date of this pictorial edition: May 1909. A month before, the *Herald* had taken over the *Beatty Bullfrog Miner*, but most of Rhyolite's main businesses and establishments were still surviving. May 1909 was well after the Panic of 1907, but before the closing of the Montgomery-Shoshone Mine and the last issue of the *Herald* in April 1911. It can be inferred that this pictorial edition of the *Herald*, with its photographs and poetic language, was meant to evoke a strong sentiment of town spirit during a time when doubts were beginning to form. While the edition provides information about a variety of mining towns

[66] Ibid, December 12, 1908.
[67] Richard E. Lingenfelter, *The Newspapers of Nevada: A History and Bibliography*, 1854-1979 (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984).

as well as the status of various mines in the district, Rhyolite is obviously viewed as the metropolis of the region. In a section titled "Like a Dragon in the Desert," Rhyolite is portrayed as an oasis of Death Valley: "Death Valley, deep and dreary, lies like a dragon in the desert…*Rhyolite* is the gateway to this most desolate and most wonderful region upon the face of the earth."[68] The edition also connects this nostalgic view of Rhyolite with confidence in the present situation: "Mid-winter, 1909, four years after the Bullfrog excitement started, finds the district enjoying the greatest prosperity in its history from a standpoint of ore production and mine development."[69] The article asserts that the production outlook for 1909 is very positive. This commemorative edition exemplifies the rhetoric present in the other two Bullfrog Mining District newspapers: the *Rhyolite Daily Bulletin* and the *Beatty Bullfrog Miner*. These newspapers embodied an attitude of town pride and assurance, particularly during times of real or perceived economic stress. Although this type of writing often corresponded with advertisements promoting the newspapers, I believe that the newspapers were truly intent upon instilling a sense of town optimism. Looking at primary sources besides newspapers provides a similar interpretation.

In memoirs and personal accounts, one can perceive feelings of Rhyolite pride and a belief that Rhyolite would continue to prosper and grow over the twentieth century. In James Moffat's *Memoirs of an old-timer: A personal glimpse of Rhyolite, Nevada, 1906-1910,* Moffat, a land surveyor in Rhyolite, returns to the town almost fifty years later in 1955. While overcome with sadness and nostalgia at the emptiness and decaying buildings, he predicts that "someday with proper facilities, good management, and the price raised in gold and silver…this district will

[68] *Rhyolite Daily Herald, Pictorial Edition*, May 1909.
[69] Ibid.

boom again."[70] This statement hints at the sentiment that many local newspapers embodied during Rhyolite's prime: a persevering faith in the town's ability to survive.

What is interesting about the rhetoric of primary accounts of Rhyolite is how it continues into the literature of contemporary Rhyolite. While the motive behind propagating town superiority in 1907 may have been to keep Rhyolite's citizens from leaving, later sources boast Rhyolite's achievements in order to attract visitors to the abandoned site. The introduction to the 1967 *Rhyolite: Death Valley's Ghost City of Golden Dreams* epitomizes the romantic portrayal of Rhyolite, choosing to emphasize the town's struggle for survival and exceptionality as a town in the midst of Death Valley: "Bone white against the dark Bullfrog hills in the light of the early morning sun, the ruins of Rhyolite seem fantastically out of time and place…Rhyolite was a city that should never have been, and its ruins are the ghosts of a dream."[71] This dreamy depiction makes Rhyolite sound closer to an ancient wonder than an abandoned mining town—an interpretation that would certainly make the town enticing for tourists. A 1995 journal article, "Rhyolite, Queen of the Desert," highlights the "50 saloons, three banks, eight physicians, and two undertakers" of the town in its day.[72] There is also a quotation from one of the few local residents, who emphatically states, "Rhyolite symbolizes hard work, Rhyolite symbolizes reward." This article immediately evokes a sentiment of both the rugged, wild west and the Rhyolite "legacy" that places the town in a sphere of urbanization and success. Finally, other scholarly and more comprehensive sources, such as Shawn Hall's *Preserving the Glory Days: Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of Nye County, Nevada*, provide more historical information but share a similar bias. *Preserving the Glory Days* outlines several of the moments that marked Rhyolite's sophistication as a town such as the first post office, the instillation of running water,

[70] Moffat, *Memoirs of an old-timer*, 24.
[71] Harold and Lucille Weight, *Ghost City of Golden Dreams*, 3.
[72] Peter Fish, "Rhyolite, Queen of the Desert." *Sunset*, March 1, 1995.

and the railroad system. However, it does not mention Rhyolite's constant shortage of resources or its crime problem prevalent in saloons and the red light district. Like many summaries of Rhyolite, Hall concludes by waxing poetic about the town's rise and fall:

> It is almost unimaginable that the desolate site that used to be Rhyolite was once filled with more than 10,000 people and row upon row of buildings. Onlookers will feel a sense of emptiness, amazement, and even shock at the total devastation that has almost completely leveled the once-bustling city. Rhyolite is clearly one of the best ghost towns in Nye County and in the state, not just because of the buildings that remain but also because of the scope of change that has taken place there.[73]

In this passage, Hall is directly addressing potential visitors to Rhyolite, appealing to the emotional and visual experience for tourists viewing the ruins: "a sense of emptiness, amazement, and even shock." In the same paragraph, he markets the site as "one of the best ghost towns in Nye County." These sentiments echo the rhetoric found in newspapers and memoirs during the town's boom in the early twentieth century.

An even more biased—although less credible—secondary source is a website that visitors may read when planning a trip to Rhyolite. On rhyolitesite.com, one can experience a "guided tour" of the town through pictures, led through text by a "resident" from 1905.[74] The tour emphasizes the features of Rhyolite that would be most interesting to tourists: the Bottle House, the schoolhouse, the Bank, the railroad depot, etc. Again, certain phrases frame the town in a dreamy, idealistic context that is meant to be attractive to tourists: "The town that was to last

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[73] Shawn Hall, *Preserving the Glory Days: Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of Nye County, Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1999).

[74] "Dedicated to Preserving the History of Rhyolite, Nevada and the Bullfrog Mining District," Last modified April 2011, https://www.rhyolitesite.com.

forever struggled from the beginning to the end, fighting for their special place in history. Today Rhyolite is a ghost town of dreams." The first part of this quotation portrays the deterministic view of the West in hindsight, as a place that "struggled from the beginning to the end". This serves as a contrast to the mining newspapers of Rhyolite that had no way of predicting the future of the town, and therefore tried different tactics to instill confidence. The second part—"Rhyolite is a ghost town of dreams"—echoes much of the stereotypical romantic representation of the Wild West. Diana Strazdes writes that there is an overlap between generic images of the Wild West and generic images of western ghost towns.[75] She writes that the "popularity of ghost towns is connected to the twentieth-century mythologizing of the Wild West, especially in films." Therefore, when we look at secondary sources that are intended to provide an unbiased account of Rhyolite, we can still see traces of this romanticism and fantasy that encourage readers to visit. Analyzing the actual experience of visiting a ghost town like Rhyolite allows one to objectively see both its appeal and why it has been painted in a certain light throughout much of history.

A final modern portrayal of Rhyolite—a Washington Post article from 1974—places the town in a completely different context while still drawing on the same mythologization and idealization of its past. In his article "The Ghost Town as Gay Mecca: In Rhyolite, Nev., Furor Over a Planned Community," Curt Suplee tells the story of a gay saloon owner's plan to turn Rhyolite into "the nation's first city expressly oriented toward gay and lesbian life styles."[76] He comments on the irony of Rhyolite as "a place that is manifestly *un*-oriented to mammalian life itself, let alone styles," a destination for a homosexual community, which faced opposition from

[75] Strazdes, "The Display of Ruins," 230.
[76] Curt Suplee, "The Ghost Town as Gay Mecca: In Rhyolite, Nev., Furor Over a Planned Community," *Washington Post*, December 9, 1986.

many locals.[77] In his description of Rhyolite today, Suplee employs attractive and exaggerated language: "fearsome waste," "littered with broken dreams," "the most celebrated boom burg in Nevada." Looking at these conclusions about Rhyolite in twentieth-century literature, there is a specific portrayal—romantic, proud, and grandiose—that directly parallels the newspaper and memoir literature from the town during its incipience. [78]

Ghost towns are sites that occupy various categories of experience—the historical, imaginary, cultural, and spectacular. In order to market themselves as tourist destinations, ghost towns rely on mythologized stereotypes of the West that influence a visitor's experience. However, if we compare the way Rhyolite was portrayed during its glory days to the way it is projected in literature now, there are some striking parallels. Much of the contemporary language used to describe Rhyolite reflects a prototypical Wild West attitude—the writing is romantic, proud, attractive, and even boastful. Today, this rhetoric is applied to add to the mystique of Rhyolite, which is often what makes the town appealing as a tourist destination. Perhaps the similar style in the primary accounts comes from the same stereotypes: in the mining newspapers' hyperawareness of the town, they begin to mythologize it themselves. In other words, a contemporary source can make a claim about a Western ghost town with a romantic hindsight, but what if the origin of this stereotype stemmed from the citizens and historical newspapers themselves? Postmaster Anna B. Moore's "dancing all night long" anecdote comes to mind.[79] Similarly, the Bullfrog district newspapers may have intended to instill hope during times of panic or simply increase their sales, but their constant praising of Rhyolite's citizens and claims of representing the town place it in a mythological sphere. Ultimately, the parallel

[77] Rhyolite, despite its portrayal as a reckless, lawless community, was not very liberal-minded in its prime—a *Beatty Bullfrog Miner* article from February 1908 tells of every restaurant in Rhyolite refusing to serve a Chinese visitor.
[78] Ibid
[79] Harold and Lucille Weight, *Ghost City of Golden Dreams*, 23.

projections of Rhyolite throughout twentieth-century source material evoke similar sentiments for readers. While Rhyolite today will most likely remain a tourist destination rather than an actual town, it is the rhetoric of its literature that carries its legacy.

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WAVING RED BOOKS: *Murray's Handbook* and the British Traveler

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> The writer of this volume having experienced, as every Englishman visiting the Continent must have done, the want of any tolerable English Guide Book for *Europe north of the Alps* …he was induced to make copious notes of all that he thought worth observation, and the best modes of traveling and seeing things to advantage. …In the hope that they may render as much service to the public generally as he is assured they have done to private friends, he is now induced to put them forth in a printed form.[1]

So begins *Murray's Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* and, with it, a new era in travelling. In the first volume of what became a series of guidebooks, John Murray III created print unique in its guidance, focusing on the practicalities of travelling and covering the widest range of destinations at that time in Europe, and fulfilling the "tolerable" need for an English Guide Book. Scholars have discussed the impact of the Handbooks on travel and publishing, but the actual physical presence of the Handbooks is often overlooked. [2] The wealth of literary resources featuring the Handbook, as well as the Handbooks themselves, demonstrate exactly how Murray's Handbooks were used around the 1850s--how the Handbooks were not a book left at home, but travelled in the hands of people in foreign places. Furthermore, the physical presence of the Handbooks indicated the reader's knowledge of travelling and acceptance of

[1] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, 2nd Edition, (London: John Murray Firm, 1838), x.
[2] The word "Handbook" to refer to Murray's Handbooks has come up in many different styles, including "Hand-book," "Hand Book," and "Hand-Book," all interchangeably, but in this paper only "Handbook" is used.

Murray's prescribed ideals of a "British Traveller." Hence, Murray's Handbooks were physically carried around during sightseeing; a status symbol of a true British traveller.

In 1768, John Murray I established the original John Murray publishing firm, a small enterprise on 32 Fleet Street. The business, funded primarily by a chance bit of inheritance, began by publishing a small range of poetry, fiction, and drama; strongly focusing on reprints of Shakespeare, Milton, and Defoe.[3] His son, John Murray II, oversaw the flourishing business to even greater success, eventually publishing work from writers like Lord Bryon, Charles Darwin, and Jane Austen. He differed from his father, however, focusing on nonfiction and lacking a love of literature.

When John Murray III was born in 1808, the Murray publishing firm was a famous business located at 50 Albemarle Street, in the heart of the literary world. Elite writers gathered often at the publishing house, discussing various articles and magazines of the times, and the Murray family was firmly established in London society. Hence, John Murray III had a stellar education, first at the Charterhouse School, then at the University of Edinburgh, studying geology.[4] During his time in Scotland, he traveled extensively, keeping detailed notes about any kind of encounter: "He never went on an excursion from Edinburgh without his hammer and bag and note-book."[5]

When John Murray III reached twenty-one, he set off on "a circuitous journey home, in order that he might inspect some remarkable prehistoric foot-prints…"[6] before going to work for his father's office. Spending most of 1829 in "chief places of interest," Murray was able to visit

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[3] Murray family (*per.* 1768–1967)," William Zachs in*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eee ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, May 2009, (accessed November 11 2014).
[4] Murray family.
[5] John Murray IV. *John Murray III, 1808-1892. A Brief Memoir* (London: John Murray, 1919). Open Library.
[6] Ibid., 7

Paris, Marseilles, Milan, and many other cities. All the while, he kept meticulous notes in each about persons, plants, and post offices in each city. The few guides Murray brought along were inadequate; the set of a few papers, given by a family friend named Dr. Somerville, described scattered towns and inns only in Holland. When Murray left Holland, he instead:

> …set to work to collect for myself all the facts, information, statistics &c, which an English tourist would be likely to require or find useful. I travelled thus, notebook in hand, and whether in the street, the *Eilwagen*, or the Picture Gallery, I noted down every fact as it occurred. These note-books (of which I posses many dozens) were emptied out on my return home. …I had to find out what was really worth seeing.[7]

The methodical mindset of recording, perhaps influenced by his geological studies, became the foundation of his Handbooks. The focus on what was "really worth seeing" also was important in creating his guides. Murray prided himself on having "not borrowed one sentence from any English author nor materially from any foreign one," a true traveller.[8]

A traveller, not a tourist. By this period, the two were beginning to develop different connotations. Travel in the late eighteenth century was still "something of an adventure," with stories by Daniel Defoe and James Cook describing the heroism of leaving home.[9] Travellers had qualities that defined the pursuit of exploration--qualities such as braving the unknown, earnestly pursuing knowledge, and maintaining deep worldly interest. The inherent element of danger left travelling as steam and rail created convenience, and the number of those who did travel grew

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[7] Murray, John III. "The Origin and History of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers." *John Murray's Magazine: a Home and Colonial Periodical for the General Reader*. Nov 1889; 6.35. British Periodicals, 623.
[8] Ibid.
[9] John Vaughan. *The English Guidebook c. 1780- 1870: an Illustrated History.* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1974) 54.

thirteen times from the 1830s to the 1900s.[10] The convenience was enhanced with Murray's Handbooks, which held instructions on how to travel outside of work or business; convenience that not only aided the actual movement between locations, but also advised travellers on what sights to see.

An advertisement in *The Spectator* on September 5, 1835 included a small section for "Guide Books for the Continent," and clearly illustrated the number of travel guides available. *Murray's Handbook for Travellers upon the Continent* was the last one of thirteen listed, announcing it was "In the Press."[11] Travel literature, abundant in the nineteenth century, rarely focused on personal experience for travellers as Murray's Handbooks did. Guidebooks before the first Murray's did not give any kind of summarization of places of special interest.[12] Guides lacked any kind of information that could be used "on the spot," and accessibility to knowledge was rather limited.[13] Some travelers were critical in their accounts; others described voyages in pursuit of knowledge. A guide solely for pursuing pleasure was uncommon. Murray III himself believed only three guides somewhat matched what his Handbooks aspired to be: Marianna Stark's letters describing Italy, *Boyce's Belgium Traveller* and Johann Gottfried Ebel's guidebook to Switzerland.

These three books certainly influenced the way Murray would write his own. Mrs. Starke's *Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent*, published in 1824, was complimented, even advertised within the second edition of Murray Handbook for Travellers on the Continent. Murray admired the "much practical information on the spot," even within a

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[10] Marjorie Morgan. *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001. 14.
[11] Advertisement. *The Spectator* 8 issue 375. London: Sep 5 1835. Accessed October 8 2014.
[12] Pieter Francois, "If it's 1815, This Must be Belgium" *Book History*, Volume 15 (2012), 72.
[13] James Buzard. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918. (*Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.) 70.

"singular medley of classical lore." [14] However, the content of the book changed frequently, and information was often out of date; the books, retitled as *Travels in Europe for the use of Travellers on the Continent and likewise in the Island of Sicily* went out of print in 1839. Murray complimented Ebel's *Anleitung, auf die nützlichste und genussvollste Art in der Schweitz zu reisen*, for the book listed places of interest and their descriptions alphabetically. *Boyce's Belgium Traveller*, a small, black bound book (smaller than Murray's Handbooks at five by three inches), spoke to the reader in sentences forced to completion, reading like an instruction-manual with short, abrupt sentences. Within twenty years, *Boyce's* had gone through six editions, though each edition was very different from its predecessor. Each edition began with a different image, such as a costume for the Netherlands or a "View of the Inner Amstel in Amsterdam."[15] The content also shifted: a full city plan of Brussels was available in the 1818 third edition, but the 1835 sixth edition contained only a section of the city, the central area of sights. Details such as "The wedding ring is worn on the third finger of the right hand and the ladies take great pleasure in covering almost every single finger with enormous and expensive rings," filled space between paragraphs about posts and miles between posts.[16] Boyce was a voice of clinical expertise, contrasting Murray's practical, casual prose. This juxtaposition allowed the reader to feel Murray was more friendly and personable.

John Murray II, turning away from the fictional enterprises that started the firm, fully supported the idea of a Handbook. Samuel Smiles, John Murray II's biographer, credits him with the initial creation, for it was "Mr. Murray who provided the means and encouragement for the execution of the scheme, and by his own experience was instrumental in ensuring its success."[17]

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[14] Murray. "The Origin and History of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers."
[15] Edmund Boyce. *Boyce's Belgium Traveller.* (London: Leigh & Son, 1835)
[16] Ibid., 49.
[17] Samuel Smiles. *Memoir of John Murray* (London: William Clowes and Sons,

Indeed, John Murray II saw the potential in his son's work, and encouraged his son to publish his work. The matter of naming these single volumes "Handbook" was of particular importance and was, indeed, at John Murray II's insistence. Travel literature was already in abundance, but most carried titles that referred to travel, guides, or letters. Presenting these guides as Handbooks gave the directive to carry the book in travellers' hands throughout their journeys. The books, bound with red linen--also at John Murray II's insistence-- measured about seven inches by four inches, the thickness of the book depending on location. At twelve shillings, Murray's Handbooks were an expensive endeavor for a small, simple handbook (a few later extracts that became their own handbooks cost only five shillings, but were substantially less in material), but the cost reflected the novelty of the books and did not stop the project's immediate success.

John Murray II's death in 1843 brought much more responsibility upon his son. Murray III no longer had time carefully to write and edit the Handbooks, and others had to be hired to fulfill this function. The third Murray was the author of the first three editions of *Travellers on the Continent*, the guide for Southern Germany (first through third editions), Switzerland (first through third editions), and France (first through sixth editions). By 1850, he had to step back and choose others to be the writers. Many vied for the role of writer by sending in manuscripts, but the few who did write for the Handbooks were usually familiar with Murray III. They were only occasionally credited, and were paid in no observable pattern. Moreover, the Handbooks were always known as Murray's Handbooks, with strict guidelines as to the way they were published.[18] The Handbooks went on to address countries that did not have guides previously, venturing to countries outside the continent, such as India and New Zealand. As the enterprise grew, John Murray III never tired of editing the books, tending to their success well after he was

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Lmt, 1891), 459.

[18] W.B.C. Lister, and John R. Gretton. *A Bibliography Of Murray's Handbooks* (Dereham: Dereham Books, 1993), xxxvi.

eighty.[19] They were his pet project; he believed that the handbooks exhibited the "results of my private reading, which stamp a special character."[20]

His special character certainly meant something, for within ten years, Murray's Handbooks dotted red across British print consumption. A small number of publishers are listed on the page before the preface in the first edition, with a total of maybe twenty publishers in select cities such as Amsterdam, Frankfurt, and Vienna. By the sixth edition, publishers were listed in Italy, Spain, Russia, Holland, France, and even Constantinople: the list filled the whole page. Book numbers also illustrate a glimpse of the phenomenal success: *Murray's Handbook* to Switzerland sold 45,000 copies between 1838 and 1891, copies that included eighteen editions. Yet this impressive number is only for one location series, with popular countries selling even more. Extracts from specific books were reprinted as their own guides; the *Handbook of Florence* was "extracted from the 9th edition of the Handbook of Central Italy," and the Handbook of the Riviera, published in 1890, was an extract from *Handbook to France*.[21] The total number of Murray Handbooks sold was estimated to be 700,000 in the nineteenth century alone.[22]

Taking a closer look at the guidebooks, the information within was quite tailored to a specific class of person. The very first guidebook, *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent: Being a Guide to Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Northern Germany and the Rhine from Holland to Switzerland,* assumed readers were familiar with a range of information. These readers were wealthier, educated British, similar to Murray. The guidebook was, indeed, used by many of the

[19] Ibid., xxvi.
[20] Buzard, 72.
[21] Ibid., 33.
[22] Morgan, 52.

wealthy.[23] The first pages of the guidebook were filled with maxims from various British authors such as Lord Bacon, and magazines such as Walker's Original and the Quarterly Review. These quotes functioned as a framework of reasons to travel, besides business. The tone was also distinctly nationalistic: "Ours is a nation of travellers; and no wonder…we stand gazing and gazed at among a foreign people."[24] Murray, who obviously agreed with this view by placing it in the very first pages, set up the distinction between "us" and "them" that he based his guidance upon. Such a distinction created the necessity for behavioral instruction: "it is good to fall into the customs and habits of the place; for though sometimes they may be a little inconvenient, it is generally much more so to run counter to them."[25] Murray was also self-aware as a British traveller; a reference to a writer titled W.M.T. comments on the reputation of the British, and the reasons behind such a reputation: "it is amongst the great and often-noticed faults of the Englishman in a foreign land that he seems to think every man's hand is against him."[26] The quote, included with the maxims about travelling, gave readers reason to follow the advice that followed.

The book was structured in a very specific organization, with general information about the inns, passports, and route options from one city to the next. These skeleton tours were qualified as simply "approximate statement of the time required to travel from place to place, and of the duration of the halts to be made at the most remarkable spots."[27] The duration of time needed to travel from one place to the next, even an estimate, was incredibly important, though no other guidebooks published this information. The suggested duration of travel ranged from

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[23] Gráinne Goodwin, and Gordon Johnston. "Guidebook Publishing in the Nineteenth Century: John Murray's." *Studies in Travel Writing* 17.1 (2013), 54.
[24] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* 2nd Edition, x.
[25] *Walkers Original*, quoted in Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* 2nd Edition xii.
[26] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* 2nd Edition, xiii.
[27] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* 2nd Edition, xxx.

three days to two weeks, with most being at least six days. The long duration of such travels implies the status of those who were able to take such journeys, those who had enough time, money, and networks.

Murray did, after all, write the Handbooks originally for friends--friends who were of the same social status who could afford a twelve-shilling book, understand and appreciate galleries, and use first class trains with excessive amounts of luggage. Murray did caution against bringing too much luggage several times, warning that more than forty pounds would cause expense. Such tips were contained in the introduction, along with a helpful list of items to bring along; suggestions included shoes, a flask, and items that could be fit into a saddle bag.[28] He goes on to suggest different kinds of bags: portmanteaus from England, knapsacks anywhere else in Europe, a "stout leather or canvas bag, to hold silver crown pieces and dollars; cards…and one or two leather straps, to keep together small parcels."[29] Murray does not specify how to carry his own book. A Handbook, after all, is to be carried in hand—as the title suggests.

Each country had a small introduction of its own, consisting of geography, climate, a bit of history, and royal lineages. Methods of transportation were described in detail both within the introduction of the country and along the routes themselves, with suggestions to stop at certain kinds of posts (the coachmen, *Landkutscher*, were preferred in Germany, as they catered to individual preference) and always listing the cost and the times of services are available.[30] "Northern Germany," which included Prussia and cities along the Rhine, began with information about passports, inns, beds, drink, and "peculiarities of German manners."[31] Murray criticized

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[28] Ibid., xxvii.
[29] Ibid., xxvi.
[30] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* 2nd Edition, 191, 204.
The first few editions that John Murray III wrote all contained more information about posts and the types of posts available than railroads. Soon of course, that information changed with demand.
[31] Ibid., 195.

the "German manner" of always addressing each other by title or profession, subtly emphasizing the lack of such propriety in the British. The descriptions of Germans, the German lands, and the snippet of German history are all compared against the British; for example, "German innkeepers are…a very respectable class…and are beginning now to be better accustomed to Englishmen's habits of dining late."[32] Murray wrote with the assumption of British needs easily woven within the content. British statesmen and vacationers alike were reassured that their familiar routines would be accounted for, if possible. Yet the assumed insertions of British customs also taught the standards of behavior of the British abroad. These introductory passages were not necessarily ones read while strolling through sites, but were still physically present during travelling. The rest of the book used the traveller's location as an organizational format, allowing the reader to instantly get information depending on the city he presently was in. Minute detail, from turns on roads to numbers of miles, from sights to see to places to stay, all were listed within charted routes from city to city.

Murray wasted no space with illustrations. The only images within the guidebooks were a select few detailed maps; Northern Germany's second edition only had a single, pull-out map in the back of the book. However, the lack of illustration did not indicate lack of any artistic discussion. How to see and understand the sights considered "worth seeing" was standardized by the publication. The detail that Murray dove into about various galleries, artwork, palaces, and libraries became a standard point of reference. All of these places of pleasure indicated the sights that are recommended to see, the sights that a British traveller should absolutely note. Murray wrote often of finding a perfect overlook: the bird's-eye stance over a picturesque view.[33] Recommended galleries with works of "old masters" or works of "high merit" and "magnificent

[32] Ibid., 184.
[33] Morgan, 53.

and tasteful" palaces, with small descriptions similar to those of a modern museum's label, are listed underneath cities.[34] Describing a public office called *Schwanenburg* in Cleves, Murray goes into a small history of the former residence of the Duke of Cleves, describing the legend of the naming of the "Swan's Tower," also noting that there is a "most extensive view from it."[35] The intent of such descriptions, John Murray III writes later, was to point out "things *peculiar* to the spot, or which might be better seen there than elsewhere."[36] Such specific inclusion of these fragments of knowledge identified both what readers knew and what others assumed readers knew.

Murray does not lack in his criticisms either, directed to both other countries and his British audience. For instance, as Murray describes the festivities of German nations, "such recreation…is surely harmless in comparison with the solitary orgies of the pot-house and gin shop, to which the same class of persons but too often devote their Sundays in our country…ought to be devoted to the wants to the starving and neglected wife and family, who are left behind in their close and miserable home."[37] To write such judgment showed the depth of how much Murray cared about the British identity.

However, not every single word was written by Murray himself, as shown previously with the maxims that began the book. The same idea applied within the routes. The geologist took great care to be as thorough as possible, combing through not only his own notes but also others' research. A collection of letters describing German towns called *An Autumn Near the Rhine; or Sketches of Courts, Society, Scenery, &c* featured the customary itinerary of a visitor in Germany: "bath, breakfast, excursions in the environs, walks in the gardens, visits to the cafes

[34] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* 2nd Edition, 424.
[35] Ibid., 215.
[36] Murray, John III. "The Origin and History of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers."
[37] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* 2nd Edition., 198.

and billiard-rooms, and above all, the pleasures of the Redoubt/Grand saloon until dinner, two or three."[38] Bringing in other trusted sources allowed the Handbook to have more authority gained from reading previous travel guides and selecting the necessary, more personal information. Murray then could prove his attentiveness to detail and display a sense of well-roundedness in traveling advice.

The serial aspect of the Handbook also supported its success. Guaranteeing the continuation of such guidance at the start of *Travellers on the Continent*, Murray promised a similar book to Southern Germany, as well as Greece. Many other books were published in bits and pieces through subscriptions or in volumes, but the individuality of such Handbooks allowed readers to look forward to the next without committing to all of the books available. The promise and deliverance of continued revising also reassured them of the Murray's authority. Murray's notice before the title page in each Handbook apologized in advance for any mistakes, customary in travel accounts, but also assured the readers the most care was given to ensure that the guide came from personal experience.

The second edition of *Handbook for Travellers of the Continent*, "Augmented and carefully Revised [sic]," was printed only two years after the first, and was, "subjected to a most careful and thorough revision; many new routes have been added, and several have been rewritten."[39] As railroads began to snake over Europe, the skeleton tours became more important than ever. The dimensions of the Handbook were unchanged; the maxims and quotes from other guidebooks left in place. The printing format was unchanged, the style familiar, the same two columns per page of small print all still there, but the travelling and accommodation details were

[38] Charles Edward Dodd. *An Autumn Near the Rhine; Or Sketches of Courts, Society, Scenery &C in Some of the German States.* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1818), quoted in Murray, *Travellers on the Continent*, 2nd edition, 202.
[39] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, 2nd Edition, i.

all updated. The preface of the first edition, included in most of the editions after, still acknowledges the possibility of imperfection: "Most of the Guide Books hitherto published are either general descriptions compiled by persons not acquainted with these parts, and are therefore imperfect and erroneous, or are local histories, written by residents who do not sufficiently discriminate between what is peculiar or to greater advantage somewhere else."[40] Yet the possibility of imperfection made the book more personable to readers, who also had the option of writing in to suggest corrections.

The success of the Handbooks also drove others to attempt to join the prosperous market. Johann J. Lehnhardt published illustrations to accompany the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*; the publication "contained a series of Maps of the most frequented Roads through Holland, Belgium, and Germany…with the By-Roads and plans of the principal towns on the Continent, drawn and engraved."[41] The nine volumes, published in 1842, soon became obsolete as newer editions of Murrays included map inserts. Henry Gaze published *Holland Belgium: How to See Them for Seven Guineas,* one of many who used Murray's high prices to find a niche market. The German publisher Karl Baedeker wrote a similar type of guidebook; in fact, he copied a lot of the first Murray's Handbook. The similarities led John Murray III to write an article detailing the origins of the Handbooks, reassuring readers that his detailed recording "noted down every fact as it occurred," and though certainly a number of guidebooks were written by Baedeker, "every one of them has been preceded and anticipated by a Murray's Handbook for that particular country."[42]

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[40] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, 3.
[41] Universal Catalogue of Books on Art, Volume 2 (National Art Library in Great Britain, B. Franklin 1870), 1148.
[42] Murray, John III. "The Origin and History of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers."
Research for this paper has not gone into the specific passages that Baedeker originally copied, and the direction that he eventually took, although it would be interesting to see how Badeker translated the British instruction to German.

Black's Guide-Books and Travelling-Maps for Tourists were advertised within Murray's Handbooks themselves, as a companion to Murray's with the images that Murray's often lacked. "Murray's Handbook Advertiser," an insert that contained an array of ads for various inns, books, and printers depending upon the book content and year of publication, was tucked in the back of a ninth edition of *Travellers in the Continent* and included an endorsement about *Black's Guide-Books* from John Bull: "They should find a corner in the portmanteau of every person about to undertake a journey of pleasure or business…"[43] Tucked in a portmanteau, these books are distinct from the Handbooks in travellers' hand.

Hence, Murray's Handbooks were not only an advertisement for the British Traveller, but also for other supplementary materials to come. The inside cover of later editions of the Handbook listed all the available "Murray's Handbooks" and "Books for Travellers" on the other. Their prices accompanied each listing. Among those recommended for "Travellers" included *Lord Bryon's Poetical Words, The Admiralty Manual of Scientific Enquiry, Humbolt's Cosmos: A Physical Description of the Universe, Abercrombie's Philosophy of the Moral Feelings*, and *Lyell's Principles of Geology*.[44] The additional books were not specifically on the subject of travelling, but were recommended by Murray as worldly views, as books for the traveller. Information, mostly by English authors, added to the shaping of Murray's ideal British traveller.

The John Murray Firm, too, published an accompaniment to the Handbook. In 1847, the *Hand Book of Travel-Talk* was published as a collection of "Questions, Phrases and Vocabularies

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It's unclear at this moment if Baedecker accepted Murray's descriptions of the Germans, or had his own feelings on the criticism. The comparison between the two and their effects would serve to be another exciting paper.

[43] *Murray's Handbook Advertiser*, quoted in Murray, *Travel-Talk,* 20. The Hand-Book Advertisers within the editions looked at for this paper only were in the 18th edition of travel talk, the 19th edition of *The Continent* and the back of a very late edition of Southern Germany. Most of the inserts did not come until later, presumably when the Handbooks were beginning to be a financial loss to the firm.

[44] Murray's Handbook for Travellers on the Continent 9th edition. (London: John Murray, 1852), cover page.

in English, French, German and Italian." This book, the smallest of all Handbooks at four inches by two inches, is self-described as "intended simply as a pocket companion for ready reference to supply the needs of travellers."[45] Again, as with Murray's Handbooks, the small book is for the British Traveller and "does not pretend…to enable Englishmen abroad to talk a foreign language without having opened a grammar beforehand."[46] The Traveller would be assisted in not appearing such an outsider by using the colloquial, conveniently stowed in the user's pocket.

Easy to use, *Travel Talk* spread out the four languages into four columns: English and German on one page, French and Italian facing them on another. Each line correlated within the four languages. The book was ordered by chronological travelling details, starting with dialogues concerning customs house, moving on to scenarios in an inn, and ending with games; the amount of thought given to the various scenarios and the potential outcomes is noticeable. The detailed table of contents allowed the reader to flip to whichever situation they were in: "Paying the Bill at an Inn," "Hiring a Valet-de Place," "Apartment vocabularies." The lines of dialogue within the Handbook, however, strongly pointed to the kind of person who would use the handbook, pointedly a male:

> Would you allow me to stretch my legs a little? (Assuredly.) Thank you.
>
> That will do.
>
> The dust is very annoying.
>
> Send my things after me.
>
> I will give you something handsome to drink if you drive quickly. / Drive on; we are not getting on.

[45] John Murray Firm. *Handbook of Travel-Talk* (London: John Murray, 1847), ii.
[46] Ibid., iii.

Are my boots properly cleaned?[47]

The needs of the Traveller are suggested to be high. Some demands Murray offers translated have a markedly different tone from the warnings of new places and adjusting to different customs disclaimer Murray gave at the beginning of the original Handbooks. In *Travel talk*, Murray detailed the needs of the British traveller and gave reassurance that they were met. Letter templates also were provided in the books, from "Friendly Invitations" and "Declining Invitations" to "Ask a Banker for some Cash," and "Soliciting an Audience of a Person of Rank" to "Request for Admission to view a Gallery."[48] Such pre-prepared dialogue distinctly influences the instruction of behavior while embodying British customs.

Travel Talk continued for more than fifty years, with the final, twenty-first edition published in 1927. Unlike the Handbooks, these guidebooks did change format slightly with each edition; the four columns of four languages stayed the same, but the organization evolved. By the 18th edition in 1897, the book was partitioned: numbers, days and common phrases began the book, then Part I described "Travelling" (subcategories full of vocabulary of "terms relating to the Sea," "Booking and Registering; Cloak Room"), Part II – "Accommodation," Part III – "Food," and so on; categories that were not included in the first edition such as "Forms of Letters," "Health," and "Vocabulary of terms relating to Public Buildings and Architecture" had their own part as well.[49] Original lines of dialogue from the first volume did not change as much as the extent of adding vocabulary.

[47]Ibid.,18, 20, 24.
[48] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*., 208.
[49] John Murray Firm, John Murray Firm. *Handbook of Travel-Talk* 18th edition (London: John Murray Firm, 1897), vii.

The immense success of the Handbooks meant that they were mentioned in other literature as soon as 1840.[50] The instant, immense popularity brought the Handbooks up as casual references within other kinds of travel literature, both fiction and non-fiction, in periodicals and in printed volumes. The Handbooks were physically depicted in many of these writings, the iconic red books showing up in travellers' hands, reflecting contemporary usage. Yet frequent mentions also meant frequent criticism.

Charles James Lever devoted a whole chapter titled "Mems. And Moralizing" in his *Arthur O'Leary: His Wanderings and Ponderings in Many Lands,* to a discussion on Murray's Handbooks. O' Leary, the "worthy traveller," firmly steps away from his writings being a "Guide Book" and points readers to Murray for any kind of "unit of humanity: if you would know the distance between any two towns—the best mode of reaching your destination—the most comfortable hotel to stop at, when you have got there—who built the cathedral…take into your confidence the immortal John Murray."[51] He continues, critical in his praise:

> What literary fame equals John Murray's? …What Englishman issues forth at morn, without one beneath his arm? … Does he not carry it with him to church, where, if the sermon be slow, he can read a description of the building? Is it not his guide at *table-d'hôte*, teaching him, when to eat, and where to abstain? Does he look upon a building, a statue, a picture, an old cabinet, or a manuscript, with whose eyes does he see it? With John Murray's to be sure![52]

The chapter includes an anecdote of an old couple on the Rhine, comparing the views in front of them with the description of Murray's Handbook; when the Handbook was incorrect about the

[50] At this time, only *the Continent, Greece, Turkey, Italy* had been published.
[51] Charles James Lever, *Arthur O'Leary: His Wanderings and Ponderings in Many Lands. P*roject Gutenberg, May 2010.
[52] Ibid.

number of towers in front of them, they blamed the towers and not the book. The criticism pushes against the authority of Murray's instruction on being a British Traveller.

Indeed, many writers disagreed with the way Murray went about formatting knowledge within the guidebook, but the disagreement simply points out the strong impact of the Handbooks. Henry Jenner in *A Handbook of the Cornish Language* scoffs at the "knowledge" in Murray's Handbook: "Murray's Handbook says that ["*Porthmear"*] means the "sea-port," but Murray's interpretations are intricately and ingeniously wrong-headed."[53] Edward Freeman's *Sketches of Travel in Normandy and Maine* mentions the Handbooks as being "able to carry with us," citing the portability of the Handbook. However, Freeman criticizes Murray's Handbooks as well, noting what the Handbook has missed in the latest edition.[54] Charles James Lever seemed to particularly dislike Murray, for his novel *Dodd Family Abroad,* published in 1895, also condemned Murray's Handbook, finding the books "pernicious" and snobbishly elite. Mr. Dodd, several chapters later, notes he has burned his "John Murray."[55]

Yet more authors gladly endorsed Murray's Handbooks, and accepted the red book as the sign of the British traveller and a valuable resource. For John Paget, who writes describing the civil scene he finds in Hungary, "To the English traveller down the Danube, especially if he does not read German, Mr. Murray's "Handbook for Southern Germany" will be found exceedingly useful."[56] Across the Atlantic, Mark Twain even mentioned "Murray's invaluable guide-books" in 1869's *The Innocents Abroad.*[57] William Makepeace Thackeray, who wrote under the pen

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[53] Henry Jenner. *A Handbook of the Cornish Language*. Project Gutenberg 2008.
[54] Edward Freeman, *Sketches of Travel in Normandy and Maine. (*Project Gutenberg, March 2008.)
[55] Charles James Lever. *Dodd Family Abroad*. Project Gutenberg, March 2011.
[56] John Paget Esq. *Hungary and Transylvania; with Remarks on their Condition, Social, Political, and Economical* (John Murray, 1839), Google eBook. xiii.
It is worth to note that John Paget was published by John Murray firm; yet even such influence of the publisher would be a token of respect towards the firm. Paget had, in fact, used Rudolph von Jenny's *Handbuck für Reisende in dem österreichischen Kaiserstaate*, and recommended Jenny's before Murray's.
[57] Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad.* (Project Gutenberg, 2006).

name Titmarsh, published "Little Travels and Roadside Sketches" bit by bit in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* in 1845. Thackeray delighted in the Murray Handbooks, and said so as much in his writing, giving no introduction to what kind of book he was describing:

> Mighty delight and instruction have I in the course of the journey from my guide, philosopher and friend, the author of Murray's hand-book. He has gathered together, indeed, a store of information, and must, to make his single volume, have gutted many hundreds of guide-books. How the continental ciceroni must hate him, whoever he is! Every English part I saw had this infallible red book in their hands, and gained a vast deal of historical and general information from it.[58]

The Handbook was "this infallible red book," but it was also "in their hands," being shown and being seen. The admiration of Murray "gutting hundreds of guide-books" reflects Murray as standard, the collection of only the best in all of the guidance available. Thackeray also describes his own usage of the book: "…[I] spent half-hour walking the streets, '[Murray's] Hand-book' in hand in Belgium."[59]

The red books also stippled the British news landscape. *Murray's* became frequently mentioned as a reference book, editors simply assuming their readers had or could obtain a copy of whichever Handbook referenced. For example, in Sharpe's London Magazine of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading: "those who wish for a full account of the rest of the lions of the town, such as the picture of St. Peter with his head downwards, Rubens house, &e may read the full account of them in Murray's Handbook."[60] Such lack of explanation assumed that those who read the *Magazine* knew what the Handbook was, and the authority that

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[58] William Makepeace Thackeray, "Little Travels and Roadside Sketches," *Berrow's Worcester Journal* 7415, Jan 09 1845.
[59] Thackeray, "Little Travels and Roadside Sketches."
[60] *Sharpe's London Magazine: A Journal of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading*Volume 1 (London: T.B. Sharpe, Google eBooks) 263.

the Handbook is given then teaches places readers may not have been to. The frequent mention of the Handbooks also was a reflection of those of Murray's social class genuinely using the books. John Lord Campbell writes of Sir Amyas Paulet, an English minister at the French Court during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as certainly one who would use Murray's Handbook, for Campbell used it himself.[61] The deference to Murray in newspapers was as ubiquitous as the books themselves in front of sights.

Murray's Handbooks were mentioned regularly in periodicals as advertisements as well. Newspapers such as *The Standard*, *The Morning Post*, *The Daily News* all printed the Handbook's name frequently, whether it was an advertisement or in an article. The guides were announced every time a new edition was "Now Ready" or "In the Press." John Murray III was insistent on the heavy use of advertising; by 1890s, over one hundred newspapers, periodicals, and trade magazines advertised Murray's Handbook.[62] The advertisements were never incredibly large, however; the small announcements and list of books simply printed, an unnecessary reminder.

A particularly bright review from *The Times* became the pride of the Murray Handbooks, and was the tagline for many advertisements in periodicals, including *The Spectator*, *The Observer*, and, *The Quarterly Review*, as well as in Murray's Handbook Advertiser inserts:

> Mr. Murray has succeeded in identifying his countrymen all the world over. Into every nook which an Englishman can penetrate he carries his red handbook. He trusts to his Murray as he would trust to his razor, because it is thoroughly English and reliable; and for his history, hotels, exchanges, scenery, for the clue to his

[61] John Lord Campbell, AM. F.R.S.E. *The Lives of The Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England* Vol II, second edition, 1846: 278
[62] Goodwin, 47.

> route and his comfort by the way, the red handbook is his 'guide, philosopher, and friend.'[63]
>
> *The Times* September 22, 1859

Murray's Handbook delighted in being the physical object that identified a British Traveller. The description of being "thoroughly English and reliable" was exactly what new and old travellers looked for, and hence Murray's Handbooks, fulfilling more roles than merely being text, were the red book that provided such.

The popularity of the guidebooks gradually diminished after the 1860s. As other publishers moved into this categorization of literature and the railroad industry advanced, the Handbooks quickly became outdated. A few critics believed the Handbooks not quite the size of a "Handbook" size as the title suggests; the criticism must, therefore, come from the usage of such a Handbook, from literally carrying it around.[64] The firm responded with Murray's *Knapsack Guides*, published from 1864 to 1872, and introduced them for "travellers in a more portable form than the older edition."[65] The *Knapsack Guides* did not fully replace the already iconic *Handbooks,* and so were soon stopped after only guides to Norway, Switzerland, Italy and the Eastern Alps.

Critics further mocked Murray's hand of friendship, believing the Handbook to be a guide that simply lead those who did not know any better. Jemima Morrell writes in her letters, "We cannot spare time to study the willow…when within one hundred yards is that view which Murray says is worth the cost of a journey from London to see."[66] Murray was considered excessive, an ill-leading leash. The guidance from Murray, critics claimed, overshadowed the

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[63] Advertisement. The Quarterly Literary Adviser, *The Quarterly Review* (July & October, 1859), 36.
[64] Goodwin, 54.
[65] Barnard, M.R., *The Knapsack Guide to Norway.* (London: John Murray Firm, 1864), quoted in Lister. 57.
[66] Morgan, 20.

actual objects and views that Murray described. American poet Bayard Taylor wrote in his *Views A-Foot* on traveling along the Rhine: "With Murray's Handbook open in their hands, [the English tourists] sat and read about the very towns and towers they were passing, scarcely lifting their eyes to the real scenes, except now and then, to observe that it was '*very nice.*"[67] As an American, Bayard saw Murray's handbook as a signal of the English. Hence, such distinction between travellers who needed such a guidebook and those who did not was beginning to "indicate a certain lack of sophistication in a reader," perhaps beginning the chasm between tourism and traveller.[68] Even so, Taylor too used Murray, following a recommendation for the "Star" hotel in Bonn.[69] Although he reflected with unease the extravagant nature of the hotel, the recommendation held true and Taylor "escaped" the hotel with, indeed, "the most moderate" price. [70]

The red books were permanent in their ubiquity, and they, for a period of time, were permanent in travellers' hands. Even in 1901, the guidebooks were still casually mentioned in literature, as with Kate Douglas Wiggin's *Penelope's Irish Experiences*: "while the others drive or sail, read or write, I am buried in Murray's Handbook, or immersed in maps."[71] Wiggin's character, while on the road, reads Murray's Handbook, a vital part of the trip, and a vital source of information for the trip. Ten years before Wiggin's novel, another *Times* review voiced the impact of the Handbooks: "If anything in this country may fairly claim to be called an institution, it is "Murray's Handbooks for Travellers."[72]

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[67] Bayard Taylor, *Views A-Foot: Or, Europe Seen with Knapsack and Staff*. (Project Gutenberg, 1848)
[68] Vaughan, 13.
Although there is substantial scholarship written on the "tourist" versus the "traveller," this paper will not focus on such cultural distinction and will use the terms interchangeably; at the time, the distinction was in development and not yet made – Murray himself did not seem to have any such distinction in mind.
[69] Taylor, *Views A-Foot: Or, European Seen with Knapsack and Staff.*
[70] Ibid.
[71] Kate Douglas Wiggin. *Penelope's Irish Experiences.* (Project Gutenberg, 2013.)
[72] Goodwin, 50.

Murray's Handbook became a literary staple of a British household, and an established point of reference. Although the Handbooks did come underneath the group of literature described as "arm-chair travellers [for] scholars of art, geography, architecture and history," they created a strong impact in its physical presence outside of the home.[73] The red Handbook was specifically one of the "signs of England everywhere."[74] And the publishers of "Punch," a contemporary satire magazine wrote echoes of the truth:

> Once I could scarce walk up the Strand
> What Jungfau now could us withstand,
> When we are walking hand in hand,
> My Murray.[75]

By 1905, the copyright to the guidebooks was sold by John Murray III's son to the London map publisher Edward Stanford. The continuously updated railroads had made it difficult to update the Handbooks continuously and many of the Handbooks were published at a financial loss.[76] However, the cultural success of the Handbooks severely outweighed the financial losses, for in less than eighty years, the John Murray Firm had published Handbooks to many locations around the world. Instructions to New Zealand, the whole of England and Wales, Scotland, Algeria, Japan, India, Syria and Palestine were all bundled in red linen.

Murray, a guiding light to both the British and those aspiring to the standards of a British Traveller, presented a whole kind of identity with simply a few inches of red. *Murray's Handbooks* quickly rose to prominence as the ideal source of knowledge, and the impact and influence lasted for more than a lifetime. The books continue to be a phenomenon today, with

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[73] Ibid., 51.
[74] Buzard, 87.
[75] Lister, xxv.
[76] Buzard, 75.

collectors such as W.B.C. Lister still searching for various editions. But the book also replaced the valets-de-place of the time, the power of print severely undercutting the knowledge of local people, and was, in Murray's Handbooks case, an authority over a world.

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From Bells to Blindfolds: Differing Conceptualizations of Justice from Mughal India to British Colonial Rule

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Justice. A powerful, evocative word, encompassing a crucial aspect of society. A concept that has been present in some form in areas across the world, almost since the beginning of time. Yet, in many Western societies, "justice" evokes not merely an idea, but also an image: a woman, often blindfolded, dressed in loose, flowing robes and holding aloft a set of scales. Decorating government buildings and courthouses across the world, this woman has come to symbolize the physical embodiment of Justice, occupying an important and deeply ingrained position within the psyche of these societies. Yet where did this mysterious female figure come from, and how has she come to be so universally representative within artwork of the ideal of Justice? Much academic study has been done on this topic, through both the lens of history and art history – most notably by scholars Judith Resnik, Dennis Edward Curtis, and Thomas Metcalf. Through various approaches, these investigations conclude that by recognizing that "justice" was not always so universally conceptualized, and distinguishing and comparing older symbols which have since nearly disappeared from use, it is possible to not only gain new insight into the conceptualizations of Justice within past societies, but also to trace and unpack the narrative of domination and colonization that overshadows much of the Eastern world. One especially fascinating instance of this contrast lies within the history of India, before and after British colonial rule. Conceptions of Justice and its representation in artwork changed dramatically in India from the Mughal tradition to the European ideology that was enforced under British colonial rule. Not only do these differences teach about the development of art

within India, but more importantly, they reveal much about the larger differences between the perceptions and function of Justice itself in Mughal society and those imposed by the British during their rule. Through analysis of these dramatic symbolic shifts, art can be used as a point of entry into examining cultural difference and its effect on how Indians were able to conceptualize and interact with the justice system as it drastically shifted following British occupation.

The representation of Justice within Indian art has gone through many stages and evolutions throughout the country's long history, as is natural in any society. However, one of the more prominent and symbolically interesting renderings is that of Justice as a chain of golden bells. This imagery stretches back in Indian history as far as the 6th century BC, during the Achaemenid and Sasanian eras, but the height of its use was during the Mughal era in the early 17th century, specifically under rulers Jahangir and his son Shah Jahan. Many primary sources from this period that reference this symbol, including texts written by the Mughal rulers themselves documenting their rule and the painted illustrations that accompany them, which are considered artworks in their own right. Analysis of this symbol and its usage gives insight into the Indian conception of Justice within society, and the general administration of law during this time.

The Mughal domination of India began in the 16th century, as the militarily adept Turko-Mongol peoples conquered large areas of formerly Muslim lands. From the early days of their rule, the Mughals focused strongly on the proper administration of justice, and they respected the systems of law that had been in place under the former Muslim government. Mughal leaders even worked in collaboration with many of the existing legal structures to achieve this end. As one historian notes, "Given the limited scope of the sharia, especially in providing for effective

and speedy public justice, Muslim sovereigns everywhere had set up mechanisms to strengthen the judicial administration. Anxious to preserve law and order, the Mughals created a parallel system of courts alongside the specifically Islamic ones….[which] allowed Mughal rulers considerable room for administrative innovations….The goal was to assure the result of equity and justice rather than strictly apply the letter of the law."[1] The Mughals focused on creating the most effective justice system, even at the cost of some degree of imperial dominance – Mughal rulers respected some aspects of the legal system of the peoples they conquered, even adapting their own traditions in order to create the most effective system. The efficiency with which this system was enacted speaks powerfully about the high value placed upon the concept of justice and fairness within the government.[2] This mentality continued to gain prominence as the Mughal empire continued, especially during the reign of Jahangir in the early 17th century. As Linda Daring asserts, "The concept of justice seems to have gained greater legitimating force under Akbar's successors [Jahangir and Shah Jahan]….During Jahangir's reign, two "mirrors for princes" were composed….One, written by a Qadi Khaqani…defined a just ruler as "a refuge to the oppressed and a protector of the fallen" and claimed that only through justice could a ruler attain the hereafter."[3] Indeed, the Mughal empire is notable within the fields of art history and literature for the many achievements made by artists during this time, particularly in the creation of beautiful illuminated manuscripts.[4] By examining these artifacts, which document the lives of the Mughal emperors through text and illustration, and the appearance of the symbolic chain of

[1] Bose, Sugata, and Ayesha Jalal. *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*. Psychology Press, 2004. 36.
[2] Ibid., 36.
[3] Darling, Linda T. "'Do Justice, Do Justice, For That is Paradise': Middle Eastern Advice for Indian Muslim Rulers." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 22.1, 2002. 10.
[4] Bose, 37.

golden bells, valuable insight can be gained into the way that Justice as an ideal was valued and conceptualized within Mughal society.

The *Jahangirnama* – the illustrated memoirs of Emperor Jahangir – is rich with references to the golden chain of justice. In the text, Jahangir records the origin of this symbol, which was based upon his creation of an actual, physical chain of bells. He writes, "After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practice hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention. Its fashion was this: I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, thirty *gaz* in length and containing 60 bells….One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shah Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river."[5] While the degree to which such an object was actually used within the Mughal legal system is debatable, Jahangir's prioritization of justice and the symbolic meaning of his action are nonetheless highly significant. By creating the chain, Jahangir demonstrated his belief in the concept of Justice as being an inherent and universal right, something to which every person should have access, regardless of their social status. The ruler stood above all as the origin of justice, the source from which the golden chain extended – but below him, all were equal under this ideal. Symbolically, the chain served as an equalizing agent, ensuring that the common people had full access to their rights under the law, and could not be barred from receiving justice by government administrators and others of a higher status. Throughout the *Jahangirnama*, it becomes clear that this conceptualization of the meaning and importance of Justice was central to Jahangir's entire philosophy of rule. Jahangir regularly and publicly confirmed his regal emphasis on Islamic

[5] *Jahangirnama*, 7.

ideas of justice within the ideology of kingship as "refuge to the oppressed and a protector of the fallen." Persio-Islamic precedents for imperial responsibility are illustrated by his very first act as sovereign, ordering a golden "Chain of Justice" …the subjects who felt they had been wronged could in this way gain personal and direct access to the king, wellspring of imperial justice, in time of need."[6]

Two of the illustrations within the *Jahangirnama* which best illustrate the use of the chain of justice as a powerful symbol within Jahangir's reign are "Emperor Jahangir Triumphs Over Poverty" and "Jahangir Shoots Malik Ambar."[7] Both of these paintings depict Emperor Jahangir, in full regal attire, shooting and conquering a force that poses a threat to the health and safety of the Mughal empire. A chain of golden bells can be clearly seen hanging in the background of both images, stretching off into the distance accompanied by a group of heavenly angel figures. The complex compositions of these works reveals their symbolic nature, as almost every element, from the animals in the foreground to the angels in the sky, function not only as figurative images, but also represent concepts essential to Jahangir's successful rule. The chain of justice, and the conceptualization of legal fairness which it represents, is clearly highly valued within Indian society under Mughal rule, as "The sword proffered by a *putto* in the sky is a familiar emblem of the just king, and lower down the scales of justice appear, hanging from a chain of golden bells. The just king is always accessible to his subjects, and for the reason Jahangir, after his accession, arranged for a chain of sixty golden bells to hang from his private apartments…to make sure that people would not be prevented by officials from gaining access to his ear."[8]

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[6] Balabanlilar, *Lords*, 248.
[7] See Fig.s 1 and 2.
[8] Skelton, Robert. "Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting," *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*. Priscilla P. Soucek ed., University Park PA and London, 1976. Pg.182.

The chain of justice continued to be used in a similar manner under the reign of Emperor Jahangir's son and successor, Shah Jahan.[9] The main illustrated text documenting his rule is the *Padshahnama*, which functions similarly to the *Jahangirnama* as both a textual and visual record of his successes as emperor. The scenes within this text often deal more directly with the actual day-to-day functioning of the Mughal court-- in contrast to the more overtly symbolic illustrations of the *Jahangirnama*. The usage of the chain of justice as a representation of the concept of fairness within the legal system remains consistent. "Departure of Prince Shah-Shuja for Kabul" and "Shah Jahan Receives His Three Eldest Sons and Asaf Khan during His Accession Ceremonies" both depict important events in which Shah Jahan presides over traditional ceremonies of arrival and departure from court.[10] As such, he is shown surrounded by symbols which suggest his position as a fair and successful ruler – and once again, foremost among these is the chain of justice, located directly beneath the emperor himself. The message is clear: not only is Shah Jahan physically standing above the chain of justice, but his entire regime rests upon this principle of fairness and equal access to legal rights. The power of this conceptualization of Justice, and the key role that it played within the Mughal empire, could not be more apparent. Indeed, as Ebba Koch concludes, "The success of this symbol in Mughal court art shows that it was exactly what the Mughals had needed to translate their own ideas of rulership into visual form….symbolic imagery, like the scales and/or chains of justice and *shaykh*-s holding swords and globes, meant to illustrate the just reign of the Great Mughal as worldly and spiritual ruler."[11]

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[9] Balabanlilar, *Lords*, 248.
[10] See Fig.s 3 and 4.
[11] Koch, Ebba. *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi*. Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, 1988. Pg. 33-34.

This prevailing conception of Justice, and the legal system which it represented, was entirely changed during the era of British colonial rule over India. Domination by the British East India Trading Company, and later by the British Crown directly, began after the collapse of the Mughal empire in the mid-19th century. With the subjugation of the Indian state under British control came the introduction of an entirely new conceptualization of Justice, embodied by the Western symbol of a female figure holding a set of scales, often blindfolded, which was prominently featured in sculptural form in the newly-constructed British courts of law throughout India.[12] The British concept of justice, and the way that it was carried out within the legal system, were entirely different from those of the Mughal emperors. This was a dramatic shift that can be observed through analysis of the British representation of the figure of Justice in art.

The symbolism of Justice as a female figure holding a set of scales, often blindfolded, can be traced back as far as ancient Egypt and the Greek and Roman traditions, but its entrenchment within European cultures began most strongly in the Medieval and Renaissance era.[13] During the Middle Ages, this justice figure shared her prominence with six other symbolic female beings, who together were known as the Seven Virtues. However, as Judith Resnik notes, only the figure of Justice lasted past the Medieval era, continuing to gain prominence within the psyche of European cultures for decades to follow. Indeed, "…the remarkable longevity of Justice is not shared by her sibling virtues. The visual *accessibility* of Justice stands in contrast to the relative inscrutability of other Renaissance images.…we know the image of Justice because it has been deployed, politically, by governments seeking to link their rules and judgments to her legitimacy. Sovereigns – be they emperors, kings, queens, dukes, burghers, presidents, prime

[12] Bose, *Modern South Asia*, 54.
[13] Resnik, Judith, and Dennis Edward Curtis. *Representing Justice: Invention, Controversy, and Rights in City-States and Democratic Courtrooms*. Yale University Press, 2011.., 143.

ministers, or dictators – have wrapped themselves, deliberately and visibly, in Justice. She has had a remarkable run as political propaganda."[14]

The prominence of this female symbol of Justice as a political tool for subjugation fits within the context of British colonization. The rule of the British in India, first under the East India Trading Company and then under the British crown itself, is widely and succinctly described by scholars as a form of "military despotism."[15] As historian Sugata Bose describes, the entire structure of government forced upon Indian society by the British was one designed to enable and promote the subjugation of the Indian people. He notes that "…the company state fashioned a hitherto unknown centralized civilian bureaucracy…The structure and the logic of the bureaucracy assured the dominance of the higher-level British administrators."[16] This was not the case from the outset – indeed, initially, the British administration attempted to craft a sort of plural legal system, which maintained some aspects of the pre-existing Mughal courts at the lower levels of government.[17] This system seemed to make sense in the early days of British colonial rule, when there was not the manpower for full administrative jurisdiction across the large swath of territory that they now controlled. Yet as the British became more entrenched within India, increasing the scope of their dominance as well as their reliance on the economic benefits of this colonial rule, the fundamental instabilities of such a dual system became apparent. The result was a shift towards total enforcement of a British-dominated legal system upon Indian society, pushing aside and invalidating the previous Mughal courts. It had become clear that in order for Britain to succeed as a colonial power within India, there could be no room for traditional Indian agency – the legal system most conducive to the aims of the British

[14]Ibid. 145.
[15] Bose, 54.
[16] Ibid. 55.
[17] Benton, Lauren A. *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.Pg. 132.

government was one in which the English, and the English alone, had total access. By this time, in the later days of the British Raj, "…the colonial state *was* a state. It was an entity that laid claim to a monopoly on violence and to ultimate authority within its jurisdiction. Law was not just a casual support for these claims, it was central to them….The legal authority of the state was singular; it existed not alongside other legal and political authorities but above them, at the top of a hierarchy in which multiple communities, cultures, religions, and moral orders might still reside, but were now clearly subject to the overarching authority of state's law."[18]

The most prominent symbols of the powerful legal authority of the British state were without question the new British High Court buildings. Located in major cities throughout India, such as Bombay and Calcutta, these grand, newly constructed courthouses were centers of Imperial government, from which the enforcement of British law upon Indian society stemmed. In a speech to the Society of Arts regarding the construction of such buildings in 1873, British architect and academic T. Roger Smith asserted that "…as our administration exhibits European justice, order, law, energy, and honor – and that in no hesitating or feeble way – so our buildings ought to hold up a high standard of European art. They ought to be European both as a rallying point for ourselves, and as raising a distinctive symbol of our presence to be beheld with respect and even with admiration by the natives of the country."[19] Metcalf describes this British "…unwillingness to accept as aesthetically satisfying any art not linked to an origin in the West."[20] However, such beliefs were rooted in a value system deeper than simple cultural prejudice; as with differing symbols of Justice itself, the contrast between Indian art during the Mughal era and the style that was introduced under the British Raj reflects the two cultures'

[18] Ibid. 130-131.
[19] Metcalf, Thomas R. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. Oxford University Press, 2002., Pg. 1.
[20] Ibid. 57.

wholly different conceptions of Justice and the appropriate forms of its administration within society. The British regime, with its focus on a top-down governmental structure with a legal system meant not to ensure universal access to justice but rather to maintain a hierarchical race-based separation and consequent subjugation, introduced an artistic style which reflected and embodied these goals. Thus, it is not surprising to find that the main form in which the concept of Justice was represented within these spaces was that of the blindfolded, scale-holding female figure, most often in statue form.[21]

The use of a new symbol Justice is exemplified in the Bombay High Court building. The Bombay High Court system was established in 1862 as part of British Imperial rule, by an order from Queen Victoria of England; the building of the courthouse within which all legal operations for that district would be held began shortly thereafter, to be completed in 1878.[22] The architecture of the building is an early English version of the Gothic Revival style, with the imposing front façade dominated by one central tower that is flanked by two smaller, octagonal ones.[23] Both smaller towers are topped by a stone statue: the left is named Justice, the right Mercy.[24] The sculpture of Justice embodies almost all of the aspects typically found within the European female conception of this ideal. Clad in a loose, flowing robe, the female figure holds the "sword of Justice" in her right hand and a perfectly balanced set of scales in her left.[25] Perched atop her head is a crown or diadem, further emphasizing her European origins as a Greek or Roman goddess. Though her eyes are obscured by bandages, she nevertheless seems to stare sternly out across her domain – the British state of India – with an expression so serious as

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[21] Mehrotra, Rahul, and Sharada Dwivedi. *The Bombay High Court: The Story of the Building, 1878-2003.* Mumbai: Eminence Designs, 2004. Pg. 99.
[22]Sohail, Syed Bulent. "Historic High Courts of the Subcontinent," *The Counsel: Pakistan's Premier Corporate Law Magazine*, Counselpakistan.com, 2010. Pg. 1
[23] "Bombay High Court 125th Anniversary," *The Bombay Bar Association.* Bombaybar.com, 14 August 1987.
[24] See Fig. 5.
[25] See Fig. 6

to almost verge on hostility.[26] Perched high above the entrance to the courthouse, this figure is easily visible to all who enter the building, proclaiming the European conceptualization of Justice upon the Indian peoples as loudly as a banner or flag. Though this Justice is easily visible, she also could not be more remote. Located far below on the ground, the ordinary Indian citizens who pass beneath Justice's outstretched hands have no way of making contact with her – the only way to gain personal access to this figure would be to ascend to the upper levels of the courthouse building, which were restricted only to British court officials.[27]

The highly structured, hierarchical system of governance which developed during the British colonial period greatly discouraged ordinary Indians from seeking out a fair respect for their rights or participating within the justice system as a whole. There is no doubt that "As for the colonial bureaucracy – the 'steel frame' holding up the Raj – Indians within it were discriminated against along racial lines. The upper echelons of the bureaucracy were exclusively British in composition."[28] As such, ordinary citizens who held no position within the bureaucracy had virtually no access to higher levels of government. If they believed that their rights were not being upheld, whether due to an unfair verdict from a local court or the lack of action by a local magistrate, the common person would have almost no ability to appeal to a higher level of the legal system. Unlike the days of the Mughal empire, there was no chain of bells that the ordinary Indian could pull to call for their inherent right to justice, and no way to alert the upper levels of administration of a damaging obstruction of justice in the lower levels of government. As could be clearly seen within the Bombay High Court, the British conceptualization of Justice stood wholly aloof, perched high above the Indian people who were

[26] Mehrotra, 47.
[27] Ibid. 48.
[28] Bose, 82.

attempting to participate in the legal system by visiting the courthouse, likely seeming little more than an unreachable ideal.

The British conceptualization of Justice did not share the Mughal values embodied by the symbolic chain of bells – this was a system in which a person's right to receive justice was not universal but varied depending on their social class, a system in which the highest levels of government were not responsible for protecting the rights of ordinary citizens, because the success of the regime did not depend upon the equal and fair administration of justice to all. In a colonial government like the British Raj, the law was not something to maintain order and equality within one's own culture, but rather something to control the society whose lands they had taken over. The female image of Justice served a key role in this subjugation; as Resnik concludes, "…we have learned to "read" [the female] Justice because ruling powers…have taught us to do so in an effort to legitimate their judgment….Rulers wrap themselves more in Justice than in the other virtues because governments need the power to judge as a means of imposing control."[29] The female figure of Justice may be holding a weighted scale of equality, but her reach does not extend outside of the courthouse walls, or even down to the ground. Instead of stretching out to those living in the far reaches of the countryside, she stands within the city, upon a high courthouse tower – looming above the citizens rather than directly engaging with them. Her blindfold may ostensibly represent her impartiality – yet at the same time, it also prevents her from truly seeing those upon whom she casts her judgments. Proffered by the British to their Indian subjects as an indication of their commitment to fairness, the deeper symbolism of the female image of Justice communicates anything but equality. She is a solitary figure, functioning only as an icon to be revered and perhaps feared – unlike the Mughal

[29] Resnik, 160.

emperors' chains of bells, the female form of Justice serves no actual role in the administration of the virtue that she purports to represent. Such symbolism captures the dominant British conceptualization of Justice within the scope of their domination of India – as Judith Resnik aptly concludes, "[Western] visual traditions of Justice have their political roots in states that were hierarchical, non-democratic, and tolerant of profound inequalities. Most people for most of the time were outside the circle of rights and of power. It is therefore not surprising that the icons of Justice that have come down to us signal little about *access* to justice or about rights-seeking."[30]

As is eminently clear, an examination of the Mughal Indian and British cultures' differing representations of Justice within art reveals larger conclusions about the fundamental differences between these cultures' conceptions of Justice and how it should be administered. Such insight can play a crucial role in helping historians to understand the implications of British colonial rule, in terms of the significant cultural shift from a Mughal legal system which emphasized equality of access to justice, symbolized by a chain of golden bells, to the hierarchical system enforced by the British in order to maintain their dominance over the colonial state, symbolized by the female figure of Justice. Both the British and Mughal regimes had their origins in conquest – thus, to some degree, the function of art within both governments was as a tool in perpetuating the legal system and beliefs of the new ruling body and forcing them upon the differing society that they now controlled. Yet the degree of inclusion within these new legal systems that was granted to the Indian subjects differed greatly between the two regimes, as their dissimilar conceptualizations of Justice clearly demonstrate. Looking at legal history through this almost art historical lens may seem counterintuitive, and yet after undertaking such analysis, the

[30] Ibid. 178.

value of a more multidisciplinary approach is unquestionable. A system of law is not conceptualized and carried out in isolation – on the contrary, aspects of a state's legal beliefs become deeply embedded across all aspects of the culture that it governs. By following these threads of symbolism through the field of art as well as history, scholars are better able to study one of the most basic, and crucial, issues within the legal field: what it truly means to "administer justice" within a society – how the conceptualization of this fundamental framework has changed over time, and how it will undoubtedly continue to evolve in the decades to come.

Illustrations

Figure 1: "Emperor Jahangir Triumphing Over Poverty," Attributed to Abu'l-Hasan. India, Mugha Period, ca 1625. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Figure 2: "Jahangir Shoots Mailk Ambar," Copy of a Work by Abu'l-Hasam. Early 19th C. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 3: "Departure of Prince Shah-Shuja for Kabul," Agra, Diwan-I 'Amm, 16 March 1638. Folio 147b Painted by Murar, circa 1640.

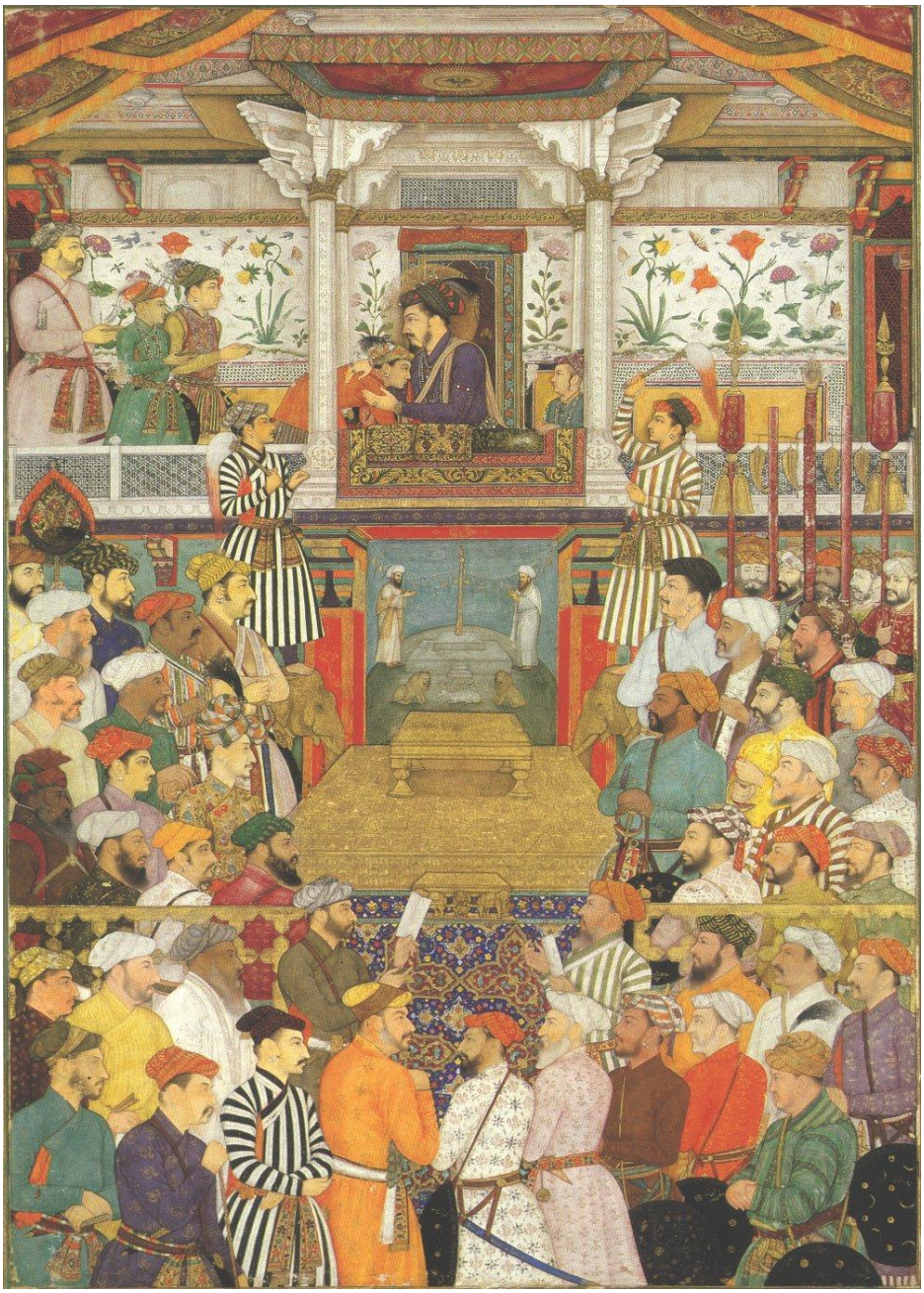

Figure 4: "Shah Jahan Receives His Three Eldest Sons and Asaf Khan during His Accession Ceremonies," Agra, Diwan-I 'Amm, 8 March 1 628. Folio 50b painted by Bichitr, circa 1630, and Folio 51a attributed to Ramdas, circa 1640.

Figure 5: The Bombay High Court, Bombay, India. The statue of Justice is noted in red.

Figure 6: Detail of the statue of Justice on the Bombay High Court building, from the Bombay Bar Association.

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Entranced by the Exotics: An Exploration of the Commonalities in Commercialization of, and Fascination with, Exotic Animals in the Early Modern Period and the Modern World

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> There are some who can live without wild things, and some who cannot. These essays are the delights and dilemmas of one who cannot… For us of the minority, the opportunity to see geese is more important than television and the chance to find a pasque-flower is a right as inalienable as free speech.[1]

In 2005, Richard W. Bulliet, a Professor of History at Columbia University, wrote *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers: The Past and Future of Human-Animal Relationships*. In this work, Bulliet delineates four stages in the history of the human-animal relationship: separation, predomesticity, domesticity, and postdomesticity. For the purposes of this discussion, his perception of the differences between domesticity and postdomesticity are most pertinent. To summarize, Bulliet uses domesticity to define a community whose members have daily contact with domestic animals, kill animals, and consume animal products without having any moral qualms about the process. On the other hand, postdomestic societies do not have daily contact with animals and never witness the births, sexual congress, or slaughter of domestic animals. In addition, many members of postdomestic societies have mixed feelings about where

[1] Aldo Leopold, *A Sand Country Almanac and Sketches Here and There* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), vii.

animal products come from, even as they consume animal products in abundance.[2] With this framework, Bulliet comments on the future of the animal-human divide, or the human concept of animals as inherently different from – and usually less valuable than – humans.[3] He suggests that society can evolve toward a future where animals have moral and spiritual worth, although it will be difficult.[4] Bulliet assumes that if all animals are granted respect and rights, then the animal-human divide may disappear.[5]

Bulliet's proposal of distinct postdomestic and domestic societies is, in my view, too extreme. To illustrate this, I will focus on the commercialization of exotic animals in Europe in the early modern period and in the Third World today. According to Bulliet's definition, Europe in the early modern period was a domestic society. In the same way, today's third-world countries are domestic societies. The similarities in how these "domestic" societies commercialize exotic animals to their audiences imply that their perceptions of exotic animals are also similar, and so are the stances of their audiences with regard to exotic animals. These audiences are the upper class of Europe and first-world Anglophone countries, respectively. Through this comparison, I argue that attitudes towards exotic animals are defined essentially by class, such that the upper class in the early modern period and in the first world today are not very different in terms of how they interact with animals. Thus, the lines between domesticity and postdomesticity appear not to be as clearly defined as Bulliet posits.

Before delving into this argument, it is important to note that Bulliet's definition of postdomestic societies is best characterized by Anglophone countries such as the U.S., Britain,

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[2] Richard Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers: The Past and Future of Human-Animal Relationships* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 3.
[3] Ibid., 205.
[4] Ibid., 224.
[5] Ibid., 206-207.

and Australia.[6] Bulliet admits that European countries such as France and Germany and Asian countries like Japan do not conform to his definition of postdomesticity.[7] Bulliet offers as a potential explanation that attitudes toward animals in deep antiquity may be influencing these contemporary differences.[8] Whatever the reasons for this variation, for my argument to be accurate, the representative audience of the Third World must be limited to these three countries. In addition, my analysis makes broad generalizations about various societies. While there may be many commonalities in the commercialization tactics of third-world and first-world tourists, it would be wrong to fail to point out that various cultures demonstrate nuanced views of animals. Also, developed cities in third-world countries, such as Nairobi, Kenya, may have vastly different cultural practices towards animals than the native Maasai forty miles outside the city limits. I do not wish to overlook these important differences. However, there are attributes to the commercialization of exotic animals that are common to numerous third-world societies and are therefore worthy of discussion. It is these general traits that I will explore in this paper.

In the early modern period, exotic animals were exploited for profit in menageries, private collections, sideshows, and circuses.[9] Commercialization of these exhibitions was conducted mostly in broadside pamphlet culture.[10] An example of such an advertisement is the

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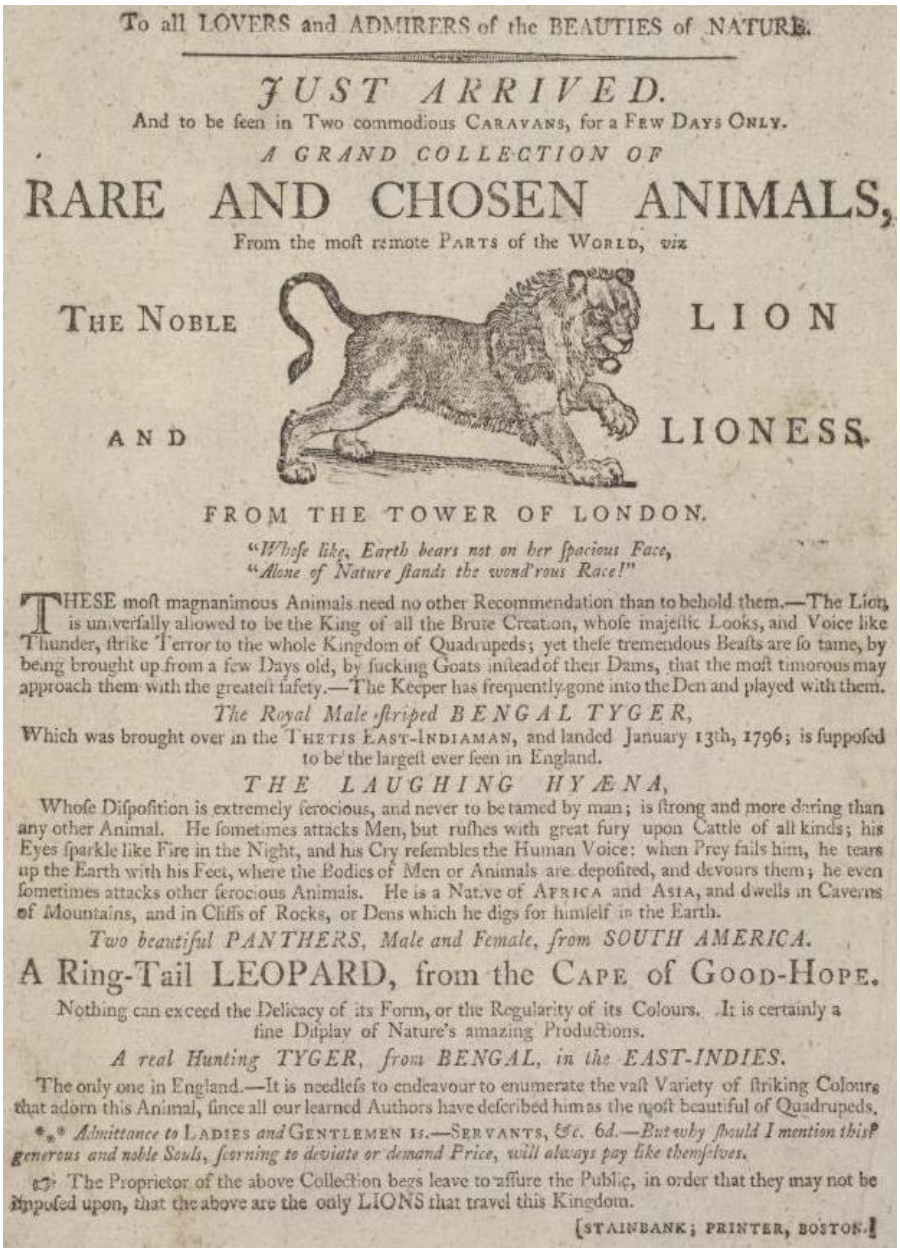
[6] Ibid., 37.
[7] Ibid., 36-37.
[8] Ibid., 37.
[9] For a more in depth discussion of the various way exotic animals were exploited in the early modern period see Julia Allen, "Part IV: Animals in the Flesh" in *Samuel Johnson's Menagerie: The Beastly Lives of Exotic Quadrupeds In the Eighteenth Century* (Banham, Norwich, Norfolk: Erskine Press, 2002), 133-159.
[10] Harriet Ritvo, "Barring the Cross," in *The Platypus and the Mermaid, and Other Figments of the Classifying Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 98. For more examples of the importance of broadside culture to sideshows and circuses involving hybrids, monstrosities, and humans see Harriet Ritvo, "Barring the Cross" and "Out of Bounds," in *The Platypus and the Mermaid, and Other Figments of the Classifying Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 85-187.

following handbill from the 18th century that was published and printed in Boston, England.[11]



To all LOVERS and ADMIRERS of the BEAUTIES of NATURE.

JUST ARRIVED.

And to be seen in Two commodious CARAVANS, for a FEW DAYS ONLY.

A GRAND COLLECTION OF

RARE AND CHOSEN ANIMALS,

From the most remote PARTS of the WORLD, *viz*

THE NOBLE LION AND LIONESS.

FROM THE TOWER OF LONDON.

"Whose like, Earth bears not on her spacious Face,
"Alone of Nature stands the wond'rous Race!"

THESE most magnanimous Animals need no other Recommendation than to behold them.—The Lion, is universally allowed to be the King of all the Brute Creation, whose majestic Looks, and Voice like Thunder, strike Terror to the whole Kingdom of Quadrupeds; yet these tremendous Beasts are so tame, by being brought up from a few Days old, by sucking Goats instead of their Dams, that the most timorous may approach them with the greatest safety.—The Keeper has frequently gone into the Den and played with them.

The Royal Male striped BENGAL TYGER,

Which was brought over in the THETIS EAST-INDIAMAN, and landed January 13th, 1796; is supposed to be the largest ever seen in England.

THE LAUGHING HYÆNA,

Whose Disposition is extremely ferocious, and never to be tamed by man; is strong and more daring than any other Animal. He sometimes attacks Men, but rushes with great fury upon Cattle of all kinds; his Eyes sparkle like Fire in the Night, and his Cry resembles the Human Voice: when Prey fails him, he tears up the Earth with his Feet, where the Bodies of Men or Animals are deposited, and devours them; he even sometimes attacks other ferocious Animals. He is a Native of AFRICA and ASIA, and dwells in Caverns of Mountains, and in Cliffs of Rocks, or Dens which he digs for himself in the Earth.

Two beautiful PANTHERS, Male and Female, from SOUTH AMERICA.

A Ring-Tail LEOPARD, from the CAPE of GOOD-HOPE.

Nothing can exceed the Delicacy of its Form, or the Regularity of its Colours. It is certainly a fine Display of Nature's amazing Productions.

A real Hunting TYGER, from BENGAL, in the EAST-INDIES.

The only one in England.—It is needless to endeavour to enumerate the vast Variety of striking Colours that adorn this Animal, since all our learned Authors have described him as the most beautiful of Quadrupeds.

*** *Admittance to* LADIES *and* GENTLEMEN 1*s*.—SERVANTS, *&c.* 6*d*.—*But why should I mention this? generous and noble Souls, scorning to deviate or demand Price, will always pay like themselves.*

☞ The Proprietor of the above Collection begs leave to assure the Public, in order that they may not be imposed upon, that the above are the only LIONS that travel this Kingdom.

[STAINBANK; PRINTER, BOSTON.]

This handbill offers great insight into the specific audience of an exotic animal collection in the early modern period and how they viewed exotic animals. The handbill describes the desired audience of this exotic animal collection as "lovers and admirers of the beauties of nature."[12]

[11] "The Noble Lion and Lioness," (Boston, England: 1796) in the John Johnson Collection of 18th Century Entertainment Ephemera, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
[12] Ibid.

This indicates that the expected audience already has an interest in animals, and nature in general. The pamphlet becomes more specific as to who the audience would most likely be towards the end of the handbill, stating, "Admittance to ladies and gentlemen 1s.—Servants, etc. 6d."[13] The expectation is that the upper class of society will be the ones interested in viewing animals for pleasure. Even more pointedly, the bill states with regard to the listing of entrance fees, "But why should I mention this? generous and noble Souls, scorning to deviate or demand Price, will always pay like themselves."[14] Clearly, the proprietor is suggesting that his audience is so noble and generous that he must delineate a more modest price as appropriate payment for viewing the exhibition.[15] This suggests that the anticipated audience implicitly places great value on viewing animals and that the idea of seeing animals on display is relatively exclusive. Thus, viewing animals is an activity for nobility with discerning taste and means.

In addition, the proprietor deliberately uses positive language in describing the exotic animals on display to recommend them to his audience. The animals in his collection are "rare and chosen," "noble," "wondrous," "magnanimous," "majestic," "tremendous," "beautiful," and "amazing", to name just a few of the sensationalist words used to make these animals seem a worthwhile spectacle.[16] However, these words suggest that the audience perceives inherent value in exotic animals. The exotic animals of this collection are not being degraded for the audience to laugh at or scorn; instead, these animals are described as treasures worthy of viewing and appreciating.[17] Since this pamphlet is targeting a specific audience, it is reasonable to believe that the upper class society was expected to see exotic animals in a positive light and be delighted to see them. The line "these most magnanimous animals need no other

[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

recommendation than to behold them" suggests that looking at animals will give this audience great pleasure and is worth the price of admission.[18] From this pamphlet we can conclude two things: first, the proprietor recognizes that the upper class has the time and the means to view exhibitions for entertainment; and second, that among that population are individuals who view animals as having inherent value.

The proprietor's recognition of a valuable status defines exotic animals as more than tools or sources of animal products for the expected audience. At the very least, exotic animals appear to be equated with works of art to be looked at and appreciated. In fact, many portraits of exotic animals produced in the 18th century were highly valued by members of the aristocracy. The works of Jean-Baptiste Ourdy, a prestigious court painter, are one example. They were possibly ordered by or for King Louis XV but were eventually sold to Duke Christian Ludwig II, the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. These works were painted between 1739 and 1745 using as subjects the animals held in Louis XV's royal menagerie at Versailles. Mary Morton, associate curator of paintings at the Getty Museum, suggests that, beyond celebrating the power of the monarch and the nobility in Europe, these paintings were meant to portray exotic animals in a sympathetic light. She states

> In Enlightenment intellectual circles the debate about the character of animals was quite heated, with one camp denying the presence of intellect and soul in animals, the other arguing that there was a similarity between animals and humans, both materially and emotionally/spiritually.[19]

[18] Ibid.
[19] Mary Morton, "Oudry's Painted Menagerie," in *Oudry's Painted Menagerie: Portraits of Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Mary Morton (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 121.

According to Morton, Oudry's animal paintings clearly portray exotic animals as having human-like emotions and celebrate each animal's uniqueness.[20] Through their apparent acceptance of this characterization of animals, the upper class and intellectual circles of this early modern period society move toward a revised definition of the animal-human divide.

The concept of seeing animals as similar to humans and with inherent beauty and value is a sign of incipient postdomestic ideals within the audience for exotic animal attractions to which the broadsides appeal.[21] It is important to note, however, that these new postdomestic ideals stem from exotic animals having entertainment value both physically and in representation. As Morton suggests, this new view of animals is embraced by the elite society of the early modern period.[22] This move toward postdomesticity may parallel the elite having fewer daily interactions with animals, which is part of Bulliet's definition of a postdomestic society.[23] Thus, within European countries in the early modern period, two separate ideas about animals are linked to class. The proprietors of the exotic animal attractions see these animals as a means of profit through the charging of fees to view the attractions,[24] representing a very domestic viewpoint.[25] On the other hand, these proprietors appear to recognize rising postdomestic ideals in their target audience and appeal to those that hold sentiments to come view these exotic

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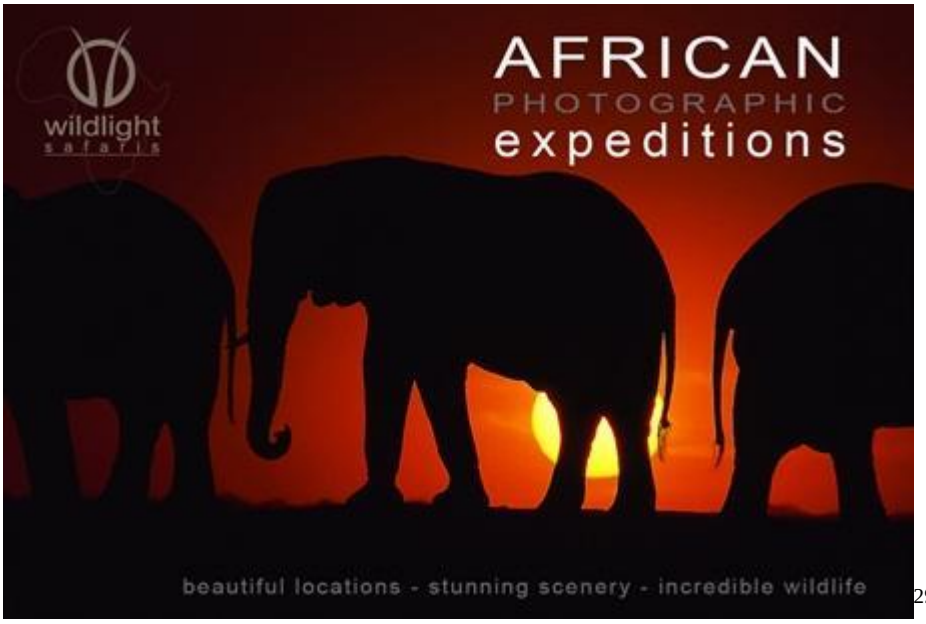
[20] Ibid. For a beautiful example of portraits of exotic animals with human qualities see Oudry's Leopard and Leopardess which carefully capture gender characterizations of the time period in Mary Morton, *Oudry's Painted Menagerie: Portraits of Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Mary Morton (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 135.
[21] "The Noble Lion and Lioness."
[22] Morton, "Oudry's Painted Menagerie," 121.
[23] Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers*, 3.
[24] "The Noble Lion and Lioness."
[25] Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers*, 3.

animals as a source of entertainment.[26] Thus, postdomestic and domestic viewpoints symbiotically interact within these societies.

There are many similarities between the commercialization of exotic animals in the early modern period and their current exploitation by wildlife parks and zoos.[27] Below is a poster for Wildlight Safaris, a safari company specializing in photographic tours and safaris in Botswana, Tanzania, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Victoria Falls in Zambia.[28]



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This poster uses positive buzzwords to describe exotic wildlife.[30] These words are strikingly similar in tone to the words used by the proprietor of the animal collection in the 18th century described above.[31] Their purpose appears similar, as well. These words are being used to appeal to a primarily postdomestic audience. This audience values animals as meat and leather, but also

[26] "The Noble Lion and Lioness."
[27] Stephen Wearing and Chantelle Jobberns, "Ecotourism and the Commodification of Wildlife: Animal Welfare and the Ethics of Zoos," in *Zoos and Tourism: Conservation, Education, and Entertainment?*, edited by Warwick Frost (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2011), 48.
[28] "Home," Wildlight Safaris, 2012, Accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.wildlightsafaris.com/
[29] Wildlight Safaris, *African Photographic Expeditions*, Poster Advertisement, 2012, Accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.photographymonthly.com/Tips-and-Techniques/Photography-Holidays-Courses/ADVERT-African-Photographic-Safaris
[30] Ibid.
[31] "The Noble Lion and Lioness."

as creatures with feelings and value, as reflected in their debates over animal rights and issues surrounding animal products.[32]

The commercialization of these exotic species to target a postdomestic audience is not accidental, either. Many third-world countries use this strategy explicitly to garner a tourism trade. On March 5-6, 2001, a Regional Preparatory Meeting for the International Year of Ecotourism (as defined by the UN) scheduled for the following year was held in Maputo, Mozambique.[33] The proceedings were reported in *Seminar on Planning, Development and Management of Ecotourism in Africa: Regional Preparatory Meeting for the International year of Ecotourism, 2002 (Maputo, Mozambique, 5-6 March, 2001): Final Report*. The summit focused exclusively on the economic nature of conservation. In his summary, Dr. Harold Goodwin, a World Tourism Organization expert, uses such phrases as "attractive landscapes and flora," "tourism attraction," "quality products in order to become a destination worth travelling to," and "Tourism is a business" to describe ecotourism at wildlife parks in Africa.[34] These phrases ultimately depict nature as having economic value where tourists pay for the opportunity to witness this valuable commodity. The discussion focuses on the business side of conservation, showing who the audience of this summit was: members of the African tourism trade. Eugenio Yunis, in his speech "Conditions for Sustainable Ecotourism Development and Management," stresses the importance of sustainable ecotourism, describing unsustainable ecotourism as "…putting at risk the survival of the natural environment that is the very bedrock of the ecotourism business and, more serious still, detracting from and even discrediting this

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[32] Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers*, 29. For an in depth discussion of postdomestic ideology See Richard Bulliet, "Postdomesticity: Our Lives with Animals," in *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers: The Past and Future of Human-Animal Relationships* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 1-35.

[33] *Seminar on Planning, Development and Management of Ecotourism in Africa: Regional Preparatory Meeting for the International Year of Ecotourism, 2002 (Maputo, Mozambique, 5-6 March, 2001): Final Report* (Geneva: World Tourism Organization, 2001), 1.

[34] Ibid, 7, 10, 14

activity."[35] Rather than championing conservation as a moral obligation, Yunis puts more stress on the importance of conservation for preserving the product and the image of the ecotourism industry on the international stage. The unequivocal goal of the assembly was to attract wealthy tourists (presumably from first-world countries) to come see the animal attractions the African continent has to offer.

It is not only Africa that caters its ecological goods to the First World; this practice is also seen in South America. Ecotourism defines the environment as a marketable resource.[36] Rosaleen Duffy, lecturer in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Lancaster University, discusses how exotic imagery is manipulated to present Belize as an attractive ecotourism destination. She states, "Culture, environment and politics are made to perform roles for the entertainment of the ecotourist."[37] Promotional materials emphasize the new, exciting, pristine, and adventurous aspects of wildlife in Belize. They emphasize the environmental sustainability of ecotourism businesses and implicitly embrace postdomestic ideals that value the protection of animals.[38] For example, in a piece encouraging ecotourists to travel to Belize for adventure, *Destination Belize* wrote "Belize is truly where Indiana Jones meets Jacques Cousteau."[39] The reference to two well-known Western characters (one fictional and one not) leaves little doubt as to the intended audience of the advertisement. Belize uses this rhetoric to deliberately appeal to a wealthy Anglophone audience, just as African nations appeal to this postdomestic society.

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[35] Ibid, 18.
[36] Rosaleen Duffy, *A Trip Too Far: Ecotourism, Politics, and Exploitation* (London: Earthscan, 2002), 71.
[37] Ibid., 81.
[38] Ibid., 82.
[39] *Destination Belize*, 1998, 29, quoted in Rosaleen Duffy, *A Trip Too Far: Ecotourism, Politics, and Exploitation* (London: Earthscan, 2002), 82.

The members of the African summit on ecotourism and the advertisers of ecotourism in Belize, such as *Destination Belize,* come from fairly domestic societies that have been influenced by postdomestic ideals. They see the animals as useful, or profitable, to their causes, like the domestic societies described by Bulliet.[40] However, their use for profit is directly linked to postdomestic viewpoints. If these nations commercialize the animals in a way that appeals to postdomestic views of animals, they can attract members of postdomestic societies to come and spend money in their countries. Marketing is a huge part of their goal and I argue that much of this marketing uses the perception of animals as exotic to make them attractions.[41]

Now that it has been established that various third-world countries recognize the U.S., Britain, and Australia as their target audiences and that the strategies used to entice these tourists are similar to those employed by the lower class in the early modern period, what remains to be discussed is how the value of exotic animals for American, British, and Australian sightseers compares to perceptions in the early modern period. To illuminate this further, we must understand what is really valued in an exotic animal attraction today. In 2004, Peter S. Valentine et al. published "Getting Closer to Whales—Passenger Expectations and Experiences, and the Management of Swim with Dwarf Minke Whale Interactions in the Great Barrier Reef," a study that surveyed whale-watchers who swam with Dwarf Minke whales.[42] Valentine is an Associate Professor of Environmental Science at James Cook University and focuses his work on tourism practices, especially on Dwarf Minke Whales.[43] The results of the study found that the

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[40] Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers,* 3.

[41] *Seminar on Planning*, 9-11; and Karen Higginbottom, ed. *Wildlife Tourism: Impacts, Management and Planning*, (Altona, Vic: Common Ground Publishing, 2004), 169-170.

[42] Peter S. Valentine et al., "Getting Closer to Whales—Passenger Expectations and Experiences, and the Management of Swim with Dwarf Minke Whale Interactions in the Great Barrier Reef," *Tourism Management* 25, no. 6 (2004): 647, Accessed October 22, 2014, http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S026151770300181X

[43] "Associate Professor Peter Valentine," James Cook University School of Earth and Environmental Sciences, April 24, 2014, Accessed October 22, 2014, http://www.jcu.edu.au/ees/staff/academic/JCUDEV_008385.html

participants on these trips to swim with Dwarf Minke Whales were mostly foreigners from the U.S., Europe, and Japan. The satisfaction of the visitors was found to have a strong correlation with the closeness of the whales, the total number of whales seen, and the total time spent with the whales.[44] The novelty of this animal-human interaction is probably in part due to the lack of daily interaction with animals that Bulliet describes as inherent in postdomestic societies.[45] Of the respondents, 63% were first-time visitors to the Great Barrier Reef and 43% of the respondents had not heard of Minke Whales prior to their trip.[46] Thus, the researchers implicitly define these animals as an attraction and conclude that their rarity and the unique nature of swimming with whales will appeal to postdomestic societies.[47] In short, what the whale watchers wanted from their experience was entertainment.

This is not an unusual response to exotic animals. In 2007, Sharon Linke of La Trobe University, Australia, and Caroline Winter of the University of Ballarat, Australia, conducted a study called "Conservation, Education or Entertainment: What Really Matters to Zoo Visitors?" in which they surveyed visitors to the Melbourne Zoo and Werribee Open Range Zoo in order to understand their reasons for visiting zoos. Although the two zoos are different in layout, clientele, and difficulty to enter, the reasons reported for visiting the zoos were the same for both groups. The strongest reason for visiting was for entertainment, followed by education and then conservation.[48] One of the lowest reported reasons for visiting the zoo was to "contribute to wildlife conservation," even among those who recognized supporting wildlife conservation as an

[44] Valentine et al., "Getting Closer to Whales," 653.
[45] Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers*, 3.
[46] Valentine et al., "Getting Closer to Whales," 651.
[47] Valentine et al., "Getting Closer to Whales," 651, 653.
[48] Sharon Linke and Caroline Winter, "Conservation, Education or Entertainment: What Really Matters to Zoo Visitors?," in *Zoos and Tourism: Conservation, Education, Entertainment?*, ed. Warwick Frost, (Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications, 2011), 80.

important role of zoos.[49] The researchers pointed out that zoos deliberately provide education that is entertaining and that education and entertainment are not necessarily mutually exclusive.[50] Still, the fact that this study shows that animal viewing is intrinsically entertaining for human audiences is critical. Not only that, the fact that the zoos themselves understand that entertainment is a primary desire of people visiting their facilities, shows how entrenched the human perception of animals as fascinating and fundamentally different from humans truly is. Duffy points out that the use of representations of wildlife that acknowledge a tourist's desire for enjoyment also necessarily "encompasses notions of the exotic, the unspoilt and the 'other.'" The effort of zoos to use this desire for entertainment to educate about conservation does little to change the underlying assumptions about animal otherness.

Thus, we see entertainment as a crucial impetus for viewing exotic animals today.[51] Comparing the earlier discussion of the early modern period, we see that there is no real difference from the attitude of the upper class at that time. In the handbill from Boston, England, it is clear that the audience was expected to find enjoyment in simply viewing exotic animals and that this enjoyment could be extended to artistic representations of exotic animals.[52] Thus, the audiences examined in the early modern period and those targeted today evoke similar responses. Interactions involving animals conducted between the Third World and the First World today are markedly similar to interactions between the elite and the laymen during the early modern period, demonstrating that Bulliet's definitions of domestic and postdomestic societies are too linear. Rather, there are distinct similarities between these two societies based on class.

[49] Ibid., 75.
[50] Ibid., 81.
[51] Ibid., 80.
[52] "The Noble Lion and Lioness."

This is not to say that attitudes to animals have not changed since the early modern period. Today, postdomestic views are more widespread and have led to a more pervasive caretaker role of humans towards animals, possibly stemming from the rise of pet culture.[53] However, ultimately the similarities between the upper class of the early modern period and first-world Anglophone countries of the 21st century suggest that there is a fundamental attitude of humans towards exotic animals that sees them as a source of entertainment. Even the most well-meaning society will always view animals as fundamentally different from humans. The term "exotic" comes from the Greek exōtikos or "foreign" whose root, exō, means "outside".[54] Thus, in their very definition, exotic animals are outside of the realm of humans and are therefore other, such that Bulliet is wrong to believe that it is possible that the animal-human divide will disappear in the future.[55] The innate pleasure humans take in viewing animals prevents them from embracing the concept of equality between animals and humans.

[53] Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers*, 20, 198-204.
[54] *Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Exotic," Accessed December 8, 2014, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/exotic
[55] Ibid., 205.

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The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelmine Context: The Cultural and Imperial Ambition of the New German Empire

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University of Michigan

Today the Pergamon Altar is held in high esteem as one of the great treasures of the ancient world. Located originally in Asia Minor, the altar was excavated by German archaeologist Karl Humann in the mid-1870s and exported in its entirety to Berlin thereafter. While Humann won the legal approval of the Ottoman state for his project, the altar has now occupied a controversial space in the study of art history and museums. Similar to the Elgin marbles taken from Greece to Britain in the early nineteenth century, the German Empire's excavation and export of the Pergamon Altar has been characterized as cultural and artistic theft. While such ideas were not held by Humann and others who reaped the immense cultural and political benefits of the altar they had taken, their own justification for its seizure is interesting insofar as it corresponds to the sociopolitical situation the Pergamon Altar found itself in in the 1870s. As this paper will argue, the German Empire sought to portray the Pergamon Altar as an integral part of its own heritage as the intellectual descendants of ancient Greek scholars and similarly-shared values, while also increasing its cultural cache to gain the respect of its European neighbors. Simultaneously, this paper will also argue that the seizure of the Pergamon Altar, while "legal," was nonetheless a form of German imperialism embodied by its foreign policy of *Weltpolitik*. The Pergamon Altar thus served as an imperial and colonial symbol of German strength and power abroad, predicated on the foundation of the nationalist *Kaiserreich*.

To trace why its Hellenistic aesthetic attracted such intellectual discussion and positive reaction by the German population at large, one must look back at the revival of interest in

Greco-Roman civilization as a whole in late eighteenth-century Europe. The foundations of neoclassicism as a whole are varied, but its artistic and architectural dimension may be traced in particular to the German art historian and archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann. In his *History of Ancient Art* (1764), Winckelmann states that "Greek art is…the worthiest object of study and imitation," and that Greek artists were unique from other artistic culture for their "attempt to base [their art] on the Unity of Truth."[1] For Winckelmann, Greek art was the product of a perfect combination of climate, governmental rule, societal norms, and intellectual discussion.[2] Greek artists had aspired to the highest truths of humanity, and had emphasized in particular its innate beauty, which Winckelmann notes that "among no people has beauty been prized so highly."[3] With ancient Greek art thus at the pinnacle of all creative expression, Winckelmann further subdivides this field into four distinct art historical periods which roughly correspond to the political history of Greece: the "origin" of Greek art (the Archaic period); the "development" of Greek art (the early Classical period); the "change" of Greek art (the high Classical period); and the "downfall" of Greek art (the Hellenistic period and onwards).[4] That the political fortunes of Greece are tied to the aesthetic values Winckelmann attaches to the artworks produced during these periods is no coincidence. Winckelmann considered the high Classical period of Greek history as the preeminent era of Greek art production, a period when Greece was at its height culturally, militarily, and politically. Periods before were deemed archaic and coarse, whereas all art afterwards was deemed merely imitative and degenerative.[5] It should be noted that the Romans, the supposed inheritors of the Grecian culture and politics, were included in

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[1] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art.* Translated by G. Henry Lodge. Vol. II. (Boston, Massachusetts: James Munroe and Company, 1849), 1-2.
[2] Ibid, 2.
[3] Ibid, 4.
[4] David Ferris *Silent Urns: Romanticism, Hellenism, Modernity* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 21.
[5] Ibid, 25.

this "downfall stage." Indeed, Winckelmann contrasts the peaceable demeanor of the Greeks with the "inhuman, sanguinary games [that were,] even during the period of [the Romans'] greatest refinement, …the most gratifying sources of amusement to the whole people."[6] Even the late Greek Hellenic culture was not spared from Winckelmann's condemnation, the same culture which had gifted the world the Pergamon Altar.

Despite the art historical complexity of his arguments, Winckelmann awoke in intellectuals throughout Europe an increased interest in Greco-Roman aesthetics and how those Grecian values he described in his writings might apply to their own rising nation-states. In the various states that constituted Germany, the early nineteenth century inspired many intellectuals to think not only about their philosophical and political development in regards to the ancient Greek city-states, but also their own personal connection to ancient Greece through those various German archaeologists, philosophers, historians, and others who had devoted substantial time to the subject.[7] Spurred on by these exciting developments, many Germans of the early nineteenth century had been encouraged to see themselves as *die Griechen der Neuzeit*, or "the heirs of the free, creative genius of classical Greece."[8] Ancient Greece was viewed as something ethereal and transcendent whose aesthetics were paramount and conceptions of beauty eternal. Such artistic and architectural trends were manifested in the Prussian *Altes Museum*, built 1823-1830 by architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel and under the direction of the Prussian House of Hohenzollern.[9] Deeply influenced by ancient Greek basilicas, the façade of the museum featured ionic columns supporting an extended portico. Inside was a two-floor circular gallery in which Greco-Roman statuary was exhibited. Above the gallery was a coffered, hemispherical dome with a large glass

[6] Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art*, 9.
[7] Lionel Gossman, "Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelminian Germany," *The Journal of Modern History* 78 (September 2006): 551-587, 553.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Prussischer Kulturbesitz. *Altes Museum.* 2014. (accessed December 15, 2014).

oculus, an architectural choice undoubtedly inspired by the Roman Pantheon. Similar to other neoclassical edifices built throughout Western Europe, those erected in Prussia and elsewhere were created for the sense of grandeur the neoclassical style instilled and the sense of regality reflected on those who built them.

The latter of these aspects, the legitimization of rule through the construction of cultural monuments, is especially pertinent regarding the Pergamon Altar and the unique socio-historical situation which it occupied. After the military politicking of Prussian Chancellor Otto von Bismarck during the 1860s and the unifying Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, a consolidated German Empire was declared in early 1871 under Prussian hegemony.[10] As historian Katharine Anne Lerman states, the German Empire was "born on the battlefield."[11] This was a state whose future existence was never taken for granted, and whose political contours, when they finally did take shape, left many wondering if this German Empire truly was the embodiment of the German ethnic state This endeavor had taken on near-mythical proportions as its various facets were discussed, debated, and expounded on again and again before 1871. Its final form was a messy confederation of various German-speaking states, some of whom had substantial ethnic minorities,[12] and many of whom were skeptical of the concentration of power into new German emperor, Wilhelm I, as well as Chancellor Bismarck.[13] Indeed, it was Bismarck's greatest fear that the political confederation that he had assembled would disintegrate before his very eyes, damning Germans to political, military, and economic irrelevancy in European politics.[14] While these fears may have been partially unfounded, the fact of the matter remained that the German

[10] Katherine Anne Lerman, "Bismarckian Germany,"in *The Short Oxford History of Germany: Imperial Germany, 1871-1918*, ed. by James Retallack (Oxford, Oxfordshire: Oxford University Press, 2008), 19.
[11] Ibid, 20.
[12] Ibid, 21.
[13] Richard J Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich* (New York City: Penguin Books, 2003), 3-4.
[14] Lerman, "Bismarckian Germany," 22.

state as a whole was largely disparate in nature, possessing many more local, religious, and ethnic affiliations than overarching nationalistic affinities.

That the Pergamon Altar would be injected into this convoluted discussion is almost serendipitous for its relevance. Excavations of the altar began in earnest immediately after the founding of the German Empire by German engineer and amateur archaeologist Karl Humann. As more and more of the temple became uncovered, it became increasingly clear that the altar was part of a much larger urban complex featuring numerous other royal and civic buildings.[15] Besides revealing the great wealth of the Hellenistic city-state from which it came, it also was undoubtedly used as a propaganda piece to enhance the status of the ruler who built it, serving as a legitimization tool. Indeed, the frieze of the altar was commissioned by Diadochian King Eumenes II of Pergamon to celebrate his great victory over the invading Gauls from beyond Asia Minor.[16] Such self-congratulatory work even carried into the visual story of the frieze itself, depicting the mythical battle between the Olympian gods and the giants as a battle between the order of the divine and the chaos of the cursed.[17] The primary message was not hard to glean from this temple and its artwork, which functioned on two levels: legitimization through a public-works undertaking and as an ideological depiction, portraying Pergamon as the just and orderly Olympians, claiming rightful victory over the "barbaric" giants. When the artistic and ideological implications of the Pergamon Altar became known, they elicited an excited response from Berlin. Here was one of the great treasures of the ancient world, now in the hands of a new empire brimming with ambition. It was a monument that the German people could be proud of for its inherent artistic beauty and grandeur, a work that philologists and classicists could study

[15] Gossman, "Imperial Icon," 554.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

for its intellectual content, and a symbol that the German Empire itself could portray as indicative of the values that it had long cherished and wanted to develop.[18]

The lattermost of these points is integral for understanding the new context in which the Pergamon Altar found itself. Excavated in its entirety and sent back to Berlin, the altar was soon the focus of a museum-building campaign on the famous Museum Island in downtown Berlin. There, amongst the *Altes Museum*, *Neues Museum*, and the recently-completed *Alte Nationalgalerie*, the Pergamon Altar was to serve as one of the new integral hallmarks of German cultural prowess. For a state that was struggling to find a unifying force and ancient "pedigree" from which it could draw, the altar was a fantastic success. Here was an architectural work whose visual narration of the defeat of chaos at the hands of order could be portrayed as the story of the German Empire itself: their external victory in the Franco-Prussian War over the French aggressors, and the internal victory over disunity and the subsequent joining-together of the German states.[19] It drew the nascent German state into direct comparison with the ancient Greeks, with the Attalide Kingdom of Pergamon acting as an intermediary.[20] Furthermore, it recalled the Germans' own rich history of Greek study and scholarship, spanning from Winckelmann, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Heinrich Heine, to Friedrich Nietzsche. The Empire finally had its crown jewel of Hellenistic culture, and this seemed to ease any fear about "inauthentic" past, present, and future German scholasticism regarding its Grecian origins. Upon the first *Pergamonmuseum*'s completion in 1902, the German Empire now had a physical monument to the Pergamon Altar, a legitimization of the altar itself and the state that had funded

[18] Suzanne L Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 93-94.
[19] Gossman, "Imperial Icon," 579.
[20] Ibid.

its excavation and removal.[21] Its repurposement to suit German needs was wholly consistent with the original purpose of the altar itself, which appropriated artistic motifs and narration to solidify the rule of the Attalide monarchy. As the cultural significance of the Pergamon Altar spread, it was soon incorporated into textbooks, an excerpt of which proves particularly perceptive: "The Pergamon Museum…will be a reminder, now and always, of the great national advance our fatherland experienced with the founding of the Second Empire."[22]

The installation of the Pergamon Altar in Berlin was equally about the creation of an enviable artistic culture in Germany, and the acquisition of the Pergamon Altar was seen as an excellent step towards that goal. Upon its unification, the German Empire suffered an inferiority complex of sorts regarding cultural artifacts. Although the Empire possessed a healthy array of artifacts from antiquity onwards, it still reveled in the apparent cultural splendor of its Western European neighbors. France had the Louvre, the first great national art museum with an extensive collection, while Britain had the British Museum and the fantastic Elgin Marbles from the Parthenon therein. Germany could claim no great "blockbuster" artifact or collection with which to assert its cultural hegemony and "compete" with the great museum institutions of Europe. This inferiority complex was also reflected in Berlin itself, a relatively new city whose young history had not allowed it to gain a great sense of aesthetic or artistic pedigree beyond its traditional imperial and religious buildings and the museums of the Museum Island.[23] To remedy this situation, the German Empire quickly consolidated the old Prussian archaeological institute into the new *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (DAI) whose chief aim would be "the binding together [of] the interests of career philhellenists and the German nation.[24] As such, the DAI

[21] Ibid, 584.
[22] Karl Hachtmann, *Pergamon: Eine Pflanzstätte hellenistischer Kunst* (Güterslow, Germany: 1900), 108.
[23] Gossman, "Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelminian Germany," 580.
[24] Marchand, *Down from Olympus*,92.

meant to usher in a new era of Greek archaeological and cultural study which would lead it to the Hellenic ruins of Asia Minor.

While Germany arrived late to the archaeological game in Greece, Asia Minor remained largely unexplored by European powers. The maverick archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann had conducted excavations near the west coast of the Anatolian Peninsula in the early 1870s, but his domineering personality and ruthless behavior at excavation sites did not endear him to the Ottoman authorities.[25] Karl Humann, in contrast, was an "inside man" for the Germans. Sent to Asia Minor in 1864 to help with the modernization of Ottoman transportation networks, Humann endeared himself to the Ottoman royalty and was thus able to secure important excavation rights and the approval to keep the majority of what they found for a trifling fee.[26] Upon discovering the Pergamon Altar, Humann realized immediately the significance of his find. Conveying this information to the president of the DAI, his response to Humann reflected the immediate impact and excitement the altar generated even before its transportation to Berlin: "[These] antiquities collections will, thanks to *you*, begin a new epoch [in our museums]."[27] Such a reaction was not entirely hyperbolic. Upon its transportation back to Germany and temporary exhibition in Berlin, the altar and its frieze evoked an incredible amount of interest from nearly all segments of the German population, most of it positive. Indeed, even the most diehard Winckelmannists, firm believers that the Pergamon Altar belonged to the period of artistic "decline" in Greece, could not help but be awestruck by the winding frieze narrative.[28] Jacob Burckhardt, a German art and cultural historian, summarizes many of the feelings felt by scholars who visited the monument: "This discovery has shattered the systems of the archaeologists and tumbled an entire pseudo-

[25] Ibid, 92-93.
[26] Ibid, 93-94.
[27] Alexander Conze, "Nachlaß Humann," Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, September 28, 1878. Kasten 1.
[28] Lionel, "Imperial Icon" 584.

aesthetics to the ground….Everything here is pure *pathos*. But what *pathos*!"[2930] The *pathos* that Burckhardt describes became the altar's greatest asset, a malleable object that could represent many things to many different institutions and people, as it did in Germany, with the omnipresence of artistic grandeur and aesthetic excellence. This was a piece whose "great technical resourcefulness," in the words of French classicist Maxime Collignon, "vitality, and inventiveness…brought to light a new facet of an age once decried as decadent…and led people to compare it with our own modern and contemporary art."[31] This contemporary comparison was something that Germany craved. If Winckelmann taught that the Greeks aspired to the highest form of truth and beauty, these same values were recognized in an artifact - once denounced for its age - which now further accentuated the value of the altar. The German elite now began to see themselves as possessing something on-par with the Elgin marbles of Classical Greece, and possessing an artistic heritage on-par with that of the French Louvre. No longer would Germans have to wonder about the *Kaiserreich*'s connection to the Hellenic past, for it was manifested in a prominent position in the center of Berlin. The duality of the Pergamon Altar as an integral cultural artifact as well as its adoption and projection as part of the German Empire both contributed to the new air assumed by the Empire as a European player in the cultural realm. In the words of a Prussian member of the German *Reichstag*, "With the acquisition of these works from Pergamon our museum joins, in one fell swoop, the first rank of European collections."[32]

The German view of the Pergamon Altar as a cultural heritage cache was also intimately intertwined with the evolving ideas of German nationalism and imperialism. For the first two

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[29] Jacob Burckhardt, "Letter to Robert Grüninger from Berlin," *Briefe.* no. 8:67. Edited by Max Burckhardt. Berlin, August 17, 1882.
[30] Burckhardt, Jacob. "Briefe." *Notes to Letter 974.* no. 8:364. Berlin.
[31] Collignon, Maxime. *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque.* Vol. II. II vols. Paris, 1897.
[32] Hans-Joachim Schalles, *Der Pergamon-Altar: Zwischen Bewertung und Verwertbarkeit* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1986).

decades of the German Empire's existence, Bismarck dominated foreign policy, whose overarching theme was caution. Bismarck used Germany's new power as the hegemon of Central Europe with great restraint, careful not to alienate potential allies or spark international crises abroad.[33] His was the doctrine of *Realpolitik,* forged on the battlefield of the 1860s, that carefully assessed the political maneuverings of neighbors and others stacked up against the potential of the German state itself.[34] Bismarck often used backroom maneuvering and politicking, alliances and treaties to achieve his ends. His was not the game of colonial land-grabs and imperialistic hegemony abroad, both of which he saw as drains on Germany's international reputation and national resources.[35] This policy abruptly changed, however, when the new Kaiser Wilhelm II dismissed Bismarck from his post of chancellor in 1890, citing that a new, more aggressive approach to foreign relations was needed.[36] Appointing the hawkish Bernhard von Bülow as foreign secretary, Wilhelm II wanted to ensure that Germany would, in the words of von Bülow himself, have its "place in the Sun."[37] This meant an active drive for colonies and other protectorates in Africa as well as in the Far East and the East Indies. The economic foundation of this drive for colonies was shaky, but its geopolitical statement was clear: Germany intended to be a player both in Europe and abroad, and was willing to compete with the "Great Powers" of the world to achieve what it wanted.

The Pergamon Altar enters this German drive for imperialism in a peculiar position. Located in Asia Minor, the Pergamon Altar was firmly within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, a Muslim Turkic state whose fortunes, abroad and at home, had declined precipitously

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[33] Lerman, "Bismarckian Germany," 28-29.
[34] Ibid, 27.
[35] Evans,*The Coming of the Third Reich,* 6-8.
[36] Lerman, "Bismarckian Germany," 30.
[37] Roger Chickering, "Militarism and Radical Nationalism," In *Short Oxford History of Germany: Imperial Germany, 1871-1918*, edited by James Retallack: 198-218 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 207.

since at least the eighteenth century. Unlike the indigenous African polities, which were colonized and adopted in its entirety into European empires, the Ottoman Empire occupied a role similar to Qing-era China, wherein various European states vied for influence over its territory through the use of treaties and other external urges. Bismarck exploited Germany's relative closeness to the Ottoman Empire early on, bargaining for European stability at the expense of Ottoman territorial integrity.[38] On the ground level, German encroachment manifested itself through the actions of businessmen like Schliemann, who used the powerful leverage of the German state in his archaeological excavations.[39] Humann himself may be viewed as an appendage of the German imperialist machine, first modernizing the internal transportation network of the Ottoman Empire and then essentially thieving one of its greatest treasures, largely unbeknownst to the Ottoman government.[40] While no extant records portray Humann as ideologically inspired by imperialism, he was still certainly inspired enough to ship his findings back to Berlin.[41]

The Pergamon Altar thus sat at a crucial juncture in the German ascendancy to the global stage. Indeed, German classicist Ernst Curtius summarizes the ideas surrounding German imperialism and cultural acquisition when he stated that "[t]he time is ripe. In the whole Orient, as far as educated men live, it is expected that Prussia will make good its new position of power in honorable and strong representation of the interests of art and science in the classical lands."[42] Implicit in Curtius' statement was a version of Rudyard Kipling's *White Man's Burden*. Whereas in Africa many Europeans portrayed their colonialism as civic and philanthropic in nature, lifting the ignorant "Negro" out of poverty and self-destruction, Curtius takes a stance that Germany's

[38] Lerman, "Bismarckian Germany" 30.
[39] Marchand, *Down from Olympus,* 92-93.
[40] Ibid, 93-94.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Marchand, *Down from Olympus,*92.

"burden" is to use its new "position of power" in a way that benefits the "interests of art and science" of the Hellenic lands. That this burden is intellectual in character does not lessen its imperialistic overtones. Just as European powers ruthlessly exploited their colonies for raw resources, so too does Curtius suggest that Germany must do the same in Greece and Asia Minor to further its cultural heritage. Thus, while Germany must pursues colonies abroad for international prestige and raw materials, so too must it pursue artistic imperialism in Hellenic lands for cultural capital. It is true that the actions of this "artistic imperialism" did not infringe on the national sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. However, by stealing its cultural and art historical heritage and then portraying it as an integral facet of German cultural life, it was essentially colonizing the cultural heritage of the Ottoman Empire.

The placement of the Pergamon Altar in Berlin also attested to the new imperial aspirations of the German Empire. At the Jubilee Exhibition of the Royal Academy of the Arts in 1866, a "special 'entertainment' section was reserved…[featuring] a pavilion in the style of an Egyptian temple, celebrating German exploration and colonial expansion in Africa…and a reconstructed ancient Greek temple, sometimes described as 'Temple of Olympia' and sometimes as 'Temple of Pergamon.'"[43] The appearance side-by-side of an exhibit detailing Germany's colonial endeavors and a faux Greek temple are hardly disparate. Through the construction of the "temple" German authorities were appropriating the grandeur and authority of the Greco-Roman age. Both Greece and Rome were complex powers possessing, at their heights, vast empires. And while academics such as Winckelmann differentiated sharply between the aesthetics of the Greeks and Romans, to the average layman the "temple" represented the combined imperial might and legacy of both ancient Greece and Rome, something its builders

[43] Gossman, "Imperial Icon," 581.

undoubtedly saw as well. To make the "temple" more explicitly relevant to Germany, however, a copy of the Pergamon frieze was also present, arrayed around the Greek temple in a manner consistent to the Pergamon Altar itself.[44] Here was an explicit reference to German imperialism and the wonderful fruits of its undertaking. The Africanized Egyptian temple, an amalgam of cultures whose appearances attested to German colonial endeavors on the continent, served as a contemporary reminder of the reach and external power of the German state. The appearance of these two pavilions together testified to the present and past forms of German imperialism, through hard commercial exploitation in Africa and soft cultural exploitation in Asia Minor.

The main event of the Jubilee Exhibition was a large parade of 1,500 German artists and actors, who dressed as Pergamene soldiers and their Gallic prisoners and paraded through the jubilee grounds.[45] As with the Egyptian and Greek "temples," the relation of the parade to the German Empire was unmistakable. Calling to mind the various victory parades through the Brandenburg Gate, the marching 1,500 intimated a connection between the German Empire of their present-day and the Attalide monarchy of the second century BCE. Just as Eumenes II had persevered and overcome the invasion of the barbarous Gauls, so too had Germany overcome all odds to become an industrializing and powerful nation. The relationship between the Pergamene and the Hohenzollern monarchies was stressed in particular when a large obelisk was erected in front of the "Temple of Pergamon" and dedicated to Kaiser Wilhelm I. [46] In contrast to Winckelmann's assertion that one of the main reasons art flourished in ancient Greece was due to its democratic system and values, the Pergamon altar was now being portrayed as a product of strong rule and order, as its visual narrative suggests. Both Bismarck and the Wilhelmine monarchs in general were suspect of liberal democracy and its portrayal of individual freedom

[44] Ibid, 582.
[45] Ibid, 581-582.
[46] Ibid, 582

and equality as paramount over the good of the state.[47] They disliked liberalism and the sociopolitical discontent it seemed to beget. The Pergamon frieze was therefore depicted as a victory of monarchism over the chaos of incipient parliamentarianism and the radicalism it entailed.

Even in its final resting place, the first *Pergamonmuseum* can easily be viewed as a hallmark of imperialistic politics. Resting alongside the neoclassical grandeur of the *Altes Museum*, itself containing a sizeable collection of Greco-Roman antiquities, the Pergamon Museum served as a crown jewel of sorts to the German program of cultural imperialism. Just as Napoleon had swept through Europe and North Africa a century ago to bring the greatest treasures of Western civilization to his all-encompassing "Museum in Paris,"[48] so too had Humann swept into Asia Minor to take one of the greatest treasures of the Hellenic age to Berlin. Removed from its original context as part of an Attalide civic complex, the Pergamon Altar was recontextualized in a museum that betrayed no hint of its original location or cultural context, leaving its extant form the only insight the general public had regarding is social, cultural, and historical background.[49] With this "blank canvas," the German Empire was able to impart upon the altar a symbolism of imperial power and hegemony and of the cultural richness of German art and intellectual Hellenism. Lines that had been etched implicitly by Winckelmann and Humboldt at the turn of the nineteenth century were made explicit by the ideologues of the German state, tracing its cultural and intellectual thought through to the ancient Greek city-states. Quoting Gossman, "the installation of the Pergamon altar in its new museum in the heart of Berlin in 1902 imparted the luster and sanction of antiquity to all three—Empire, its capital,

[47] Lerman,"Bismarckian Germany," 20-21.
[48] Gossman, "Imperial Icon,"580.
[49] Wallis Miller, "Cultures of Display: Exhibiting Architecture in Berlin, 1880-1931," In *Architecture and Authorship*, edited by Tim Anstey, Katja Grillner and Rolkf Hughes, 98-107, (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2007), 101.

and the dynasty."[50] Excused from its preliminary discussion amongst the philologists, art historians, and archaeologists of Europe regarding the innate aesthetic and narrative qualities of the altar, the post-1902 altar, enshrined in a museum, became a hardened form of German imperialistic and artistic culture, self-consciously projected to all those who saw it.

This appropriation of the Pergamon Altar to suit the sociopolitical movement then in power would continue after the dissolution of the German Empire in 1918. While largely freed from ideological confines during the Weimar era (1919-1933), which included the construction of a new museum to house the artifact, the altar gained other sinister meanings when the National Socialists came to power in 1933. Reflecting Chancellor Adolf Hitler's own personal views on art, the Pergamon Altar was exalted as one of the "pure" forms of artistic creation, contrasting sharply with the "decadent degeneracy" of art from the prior two decades. A much more reserved and apolitical posture was taken by the East German government, who inherited the *Pergamonmuseum* in the aftermath of the Second World War, and used it largely as a revenue stream. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 the Pergamon Altar was once again open to deliberation and debate amongst the backdrop of a liberal democracy, but its history as an object of imperial conquest and cultural colonialism remained.

The Pergamon Altar entered the German historical consciousness at a crucial time in the country's history. Newly unified, the German Empire found in the Pergamon Altar the embodiment of desired national goals. The Pergamon Altar was presented as a representation of the German people's own connection to Hellenism and Hellenistic studies, reaching back to Johann Joachim Winkcelmann and beyond. Likewise, it was presented as a representation of the cultural capital the new German Empire possessed and what they were willing to do to achieve

[50] Gossman, "Imperial Icon," 580.

it. Further, the Pergamon Altar symbolized the policy of *Weltpolitik* adopted from 1890 onwards. It revealed German willingness to vie for a "spot in the Sun," or pursue the natural resources of colonies and cultural artifacts of other nations to enrich herself. Similarly, the Pergamon Altar was portrayed artistically as a representation of the power of monarchical rule, of the *Blut und Eisen* Otto von Bismarck had hailed only a decade earlier, and of the ultimate triumph of this conservative order over the rebelliousness of liberal parliamentary politics. The Pergamon Altar was also used by the German state as a legitimization tool, to support its Hellenic intellectual heritage, its cultural capital, and its imperialistic policies.

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Gangs Running Politics: The Role of Irish Social Athletic Clubs in Politics, and Racial Violence in Chicago from 1900-1920

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> "Its purpose was social and athletic and some of the finest athletes, priests, and citizens of Chicago have been members."
>
> -Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, President of Hamburg Social and Athletic Club, 1924-1939

> "Gee, you'd never think of just walking into their neighborhood, or you'd get the hell knocked out of you by the Hamburgs."
>
> -John Waner, Defeated by Richard J. Daley in Chicago mayoral election of 1967[1]

The attitudes of Chicagoans from the turn of the twentieth century to the Great Depression usually coincided with where the person lived in the city and if they worked for the government. Simply being a stranger on the wrong side of the road was enough for gangs of adolescents to cuss and yell the stranger back, threatening to strike with fists, knives, bricks, or anything that looks like it would hurt.[2] Racial and ethnic tensions grew exponentially, and the

[1] Mike Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (New York: Dutton, 1971), 31.
[2]Ibid. 25 and Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1963).

invisible, but very defensible boundaries, or "deadlines," that separated the multitudes of immigrants and "natives" stretched to their limits.[3] Chicago journalist, Mike Royko once wrote,"

"[Deadlines were] another good reason to stay close to home and in your own neighborhood-town and ethnic state. Go that way, past the viaduct, and the wops will jump you, or chase you into Jew town. Go the other way, beyond the park, and the Polacks would stomp on you. Cross the streetcar tracks, and the Micks will shower you with Irish Confetti from the brickyards. And who can tell what the niggers might do?"[4]

New Immigrants from Europe, like the Poles, Italians, and Russians, migrated to Chicago to take jobs in the Union Stockyards and other industries that the older immigrants, like the Irish and Germans, had previously held. During the Great War, the Great Migration of African-Americans from the South brought a change in population on the South Side Black Belt neighborhood from approximately 30,000 in 1900 to close to 100,000 after the war ended in 1918.[5] Everyone in Chicago knew that the tensions were close to erupting in war. One headline in the Black newspaper, the *Chicago Broad Ax*, read, "All South Side Sleeping Over a Volcano."[6]

Where would the lifestyle of those in the Roaring Twenties be if it were not for the Irish who ran the city from the neighborhood gangs and social athletic clubs in the two decades prior? Where were these gangs and clubs located? When and how did they get motivated to become prevalent enough to make such an impact on city politics? How long after their major immigration did the Irish create these groups and how long did it take those groups to come to palpable power after the gangs and clubs were created? My last question is how did race and the

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[3] James R. Barrett, *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City* (New York: Penguin Press, 2012), 13,18.
[4] Royko, *Boss*, 25.
[5] Hana Layson and Kenneth Warren, "Chicago and the Great Migration, 1915–1950," *Digital Collections for the Classroom*, 2014, http://dcc.newberry.org/collections/chicago-and-the-great-migration.
[6] *Chicago Broad Ax*, August 17, 1918.

Great Black Migration affect the Irish population whether it was for territory, for jobs, or for political power?

First, the question of how the Irish gangs in Chicago formed must be explored. The Irish in Chicago have been there since they migrated due to the Great Famine from 1845-1852. By the twentieth century, the Irish were in their second, third, and fourth generations in the city and had moved up the social ladder to a position of more economic power and influence. For the first time since their arrival, the Irish managed the Stockyards, the Glue Works, and the Little Lumber District. This meant that they also made enough money to have their kids fully educated. In 1900, Illinois signed into law a bill making child labor illegal, which gave youth a lot of free time regardless whether of their family was rich or poor.[7] As a consequence, the amount of youth on the streets after class (or during the day in the summer months) increased exponentially. They often gathered together to commit crimes, play baseball or both almost simultaneously. The young kids were getting in trouble and the Irish police and neighborhood eyes had no choice but to stop them. However, the creation of the social athletic club changed the way youth organized.

Social athletic clubs were made up mostly of Irish youth who found out that they could be funded by politicians, which would perpetuate in Chicago youth a feeling of masculinity and dominance that was dwindling due to the growing number of immigrants. The second and third generations of Irish had grown up in the Bridgeport and Back o' the Yards neighborhoods, with the scent of the nearby Union Stockyards on their parents and they wanted nothing to do with the simple lifestyle of a factory worker. Hoping to achieve more in life in the first two decades of the twentieth century, many of Chicago's Irish youth played sports and as they got older, they joined social athletic clubs where sports met politics with questionable legality.

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[7] Kriste Lindenmeyer, "Children and the Law," Encyclopedia of Chicago, 2005. http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/279.html

Politicians belonging to the Democratic Party at the turn of the 20th century consisted mainly of the Irish and new immigrants whose ward politics created splits in their party. Led by men like Big Bill Thompson and Fred Busse, the Republican party could take advantage of party fragmentation in city-wide elections by playing the factions against each other.[8] Realizing that Irish politics worked from the street level up, sociologist John Landesco wrote, "The Irish, although increasingly in a minority, maintained control of ward and precinct organization of "pull" and patronage."[9] The ward politics still turned out to be very lucrative and the patronage system utilized by aldermen made it so that any Bridgeport man, like future mayor Edward Kelly, could have his first job as a sanitation department worker and later on in life become the mayor of Chicago.[10]

Any group of delinquent boys could run around and cause a ruckus, but Frederic Thrasher, co-founder of the Chicago School of Sociology, believed that politicians allowed young street gangs to exist by leasing them a meeting place for very low rent or on subsidy from the politicians themselves.[11] He also taught that "the influence of the boy or adult gang in city politics [had] arisen largely through its ability to trade some advantage in the way of votes, influence, money, or what not, with the politician in return for subsidies, immunities, and so on."[12] The gangs could do whatever they pleased, whenever they pleased because they had an

[8] Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan, *Big Bill of Chicago* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2005), 28.
[9] John Landesco, *Organized Crime In Chicago - Part 3 Of The Illinois Crime Survey, 1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 170.
[10] Roger Biles, "Mayor Edward J Kelly of Chicago: Big City Boss in Depression and War," (PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1981.) 6-7.
[11] Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang; a Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago*, Abridged Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 317
[12] Thrasher, *The Gang*, 321.

organization to stand behind with a name that reflected a neighborhood or politician instead of their pickup league baseball name.[13]

Neighborhood identities meant everything in Chicago. Frederick Thrasher's studies also included some of the most accurate neighborhood maps available at the time. His major map entitled *Chicago's Gangland* shows where neighborhood lines existed as well as what ethnicities and races made up those neighborhoods. *Chicago's Gangland* shows that Wentworth Avenue and the parallel and adjacent Pennsylvania Central Railroad tracks divided the South Side Black Belt, called Bronzeville due to the skin tone of those who lived there, and the majorly Irish neighborhoods of Bridgeport and Canaryville. Bridgeport's northern border was the South branch of the Chicago River and its Southern border with Canaryville and the Union Stockyards was 39th Street. Canaryville went south to 49th Street. Back of the Yards started on 47th Street and went south to 55th Street and from the railroad tracks along Leavitt Street east to Halsted Street, the border between them and Canaryville.[14] Inside the Irish neighborhood of Bridgeport, a smaller neighborhood called Hamburg stretched between 31st and 39th Streets and from Halsted to Wentworth Avenue, where the fiercest rivalries between Irish social athletic clubs existed.

Regardless of where the Irish Chicagoans ended up, it is where they started that matters the most to the study of social mobility. The largest Irish neighborhood in Chicago was Bridgeport which had existed in Chicago since the Irish and other old immigrants started building the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1836. This was back when Bridgeport was known as "Hardscrabble" due to the toughness of those who lived there.[15] Because of the mass migration

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[13] Thrasher, *The Gang*, 74. And Patrick Mallory, *The Game They All Played: Chicago Baseball, 1876-1906* (Dissertation. Loyola University Chicago, 2013), 184-95.
[14] Dominic A. Pacyga and Ellen Skerrett, *Chicago, City of Neighborhoods*, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1986), 450-473.
[15] Richard Lindberg, *The Gambler King of Clark Street: Micheal C. McDonald and the Rise of Chicago's Democratic Machine* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009), 23.

from Ireland in the 1840s due to the famine, the neighborhood of Bridgeport had already built multiple Catholic parishes where they gave praise, but also taught the neighborhood's youth how the world worked the Irish Catholic way by means of parochial schooling. The major parishes in Bridgeport were Nativity of Our Lord Church, which was dedicated in 1868, Old St. Patrick's Church, a famine era parish, and All Saints Church, which was founded in 1875.[16] Several other ethnicities moved into the neighborhood like the Swedes and the Bohemians, but the neighborhood still managed to stay primarily Irish through the Great Depression.

Comprising less than eight city blocks wide and twelve to fifteen blocks long within Bridgeport was the neighborhood of Hamburg. Hamburg was started by the Germans as an enclave to stay closer together, but as they gentrified and left for higher class areas, the neighborhood turned almost completely Irish. The neighborhood centered around Nativity of Our Lord Church, which sat and still sits on the corner of Union Street and 37th Street. The citizens of the neighborhood of Hamburg were especially protective of their territory and were the type of parishioners that would walk laps around the parish to make sure that the neighborhood was safe and to pick up stragglers who otherwise would not have made it to service.[17]

Another major neighborhood lay just south of Hamburg and had the same eastern and western borders, but 49th Street was its southern border. This neighborhood was called Canaryville, possibly after the swarms of birds that ate grain in the area or possibly after youth gangs that were causing trouble, but not enough to be called a name other than "Canaries" at the

[16] "Ethnic History of Bridgeport," University of Illinois at Chicago. http://www.uic.edu/orgs/LockZero/IV.html
[17] Nativity of Our Lord Catholic Church Parish Council, "About Nativity Of Our Lord Parish," 2004. http://www.nativitybridgeport.org/about.php

time.[18] The neighborhood was situated next to the Union Stockyards and was founded by the Irish who in turn built St. Gabriel's Parish. Just like in Hamburg, the Church was the most visited place in Canaryville, but the area of the parish held home to some of the most powerful Irish criminals and politicians in the city. They believed that Canaryville was definitely their territory and their qualms with the gangs of the Hamburg neighborhood to the north were legendary.

The most diverse neighborhood that existed during the early twentieth century was the Back of the Yards neighborhood. Given its name came from its proximity to the Union Stockyards, the Back of the Yards was almost solely populated by those who worked in the Yards and those profited off them, like saloonkeepers and grocers. Back of the Yards was initially comprised of Irish and German immigrants in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the Czechs soon joined them. At the turn of the century, many of the new immigrants,including the Polish, Slovakians, and Lithuanians, moved into the homes that once were home to successful Irish and Germans who moved to better neighborhoods or out to the suburbs. The Back of the Yards neighborhood began to change for the better when Upton Sinclair came out with his book *The Jungle* in 1906. While today the book is often associated with exposing the substandard food safety practices, it was initially made to show the bad working and living conditions of the Eastern Europeans and those remaining from old immigration.[19]

These neighborhoods were home to some of the most vicious gangs of youth in the city, who fought each other incessantly in order to display dominance or enforce a "deadline." They understood that they could work, but the life of crime was much easier and it did not help that crime was already prevalent in the city. Landesco made that notion easier to understand when he wrote, "the gangster is a product of his surroundings in the same way in which the good citizen is

[18] James R. Barrett, "Canaryville," Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago, 2005. http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/2476.html
[19] Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*, Unabridged Edition Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2001).

a product of his environment."[20] With that being the case, the youth tended to fall into the realms of sports and crime, and their rivalries only fueled their enthusiasm for the two..

In order to understand the rivalry between social athletic clubs, including the Ragen's Colts of Canaryville and the Hamburg Social Athletic Club of Hamburg, their roots need to be explored. The origins of both Ragen's Colts and the Hamburgers lie in sports. Sports like baseball and football were something that kids started to take pride in as a sense of their community.[21] They would come up with names that reflect their own neighborhood or intersection like the Hamilton Seals and the Cherry Circle Tankers. The teams played each other wherever they could, but usually only with ragged balls that were more tape than ball.[22] Usually the games ended in fights, or if the losing team had fans present, the fans would fight the winning team's fans in order to save face.[23] The fighting only happened because pride was such an integral part of the youths' identity. Their parents had gone through the struggles of hard labor in the Stockyards and were just now coming up as skilled laborers with millions of immigrants waiting to take their jobs, so it was reasonable that the kids would want to come off as tough in hopes that incoming immigrants would stay out of their way.

The attitudes of those involved in Social Athletic Clubs in Bridgeport, Hamburg, and Canaryville existed because there were "others" lurking on any side of their territory. Many of the Irish settlers of the South Side were afraid that because their machine politics and patronage system were so prevalent and efficient that the new immigrants from Europe, Asia, and the Southern half of the United States could break down their political walls and take their jobs and neighborhoods. The need to succeed in life was helped by Catholic parochial schools and the De

[20] Landesco, *Organized Crime In Chicago*, 224.
[21] Mallory, *The Game They All Played*, 184-95.
[22] Keene Gardiner, "HAMILTON SEALS DEFEAT TANKERS." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Apr 11, 1913.
[23] Mallory, *The Game They All Played* 195-6.

La Salle Institute founded by Irish Catholics in what would become the Black Belt, where many Irish teenagers went to learn a specific education. Five different Chicago mayors including both of the Daleys, Kennelly, and Bilandic went to the De La Salle Institute even though the Great Migration flooded Bronzeville with Blacks. Regardless of transgressions between blacks and other ethnic groups, parents wanted their children to succeed so they would not have to work in the hog houses, cattle pens, or the tannery.[24] Little did the parents know that the education in the classroom was being accompanied by knowledge of the streets by way of social athletic club.

In the neighborhood of Canaryville during the spring of 1898, two brothers, Christopher and Pat O'Brien started the Morgan Athletic Club and according to John Landesco, "As early as 1902 the social and athletic activities of the Morgan Athletic Club included fully equipped amateur football, baseball, and rugby teams of high standing in their respective leagues."[25] Several years later, the club, after gaining recognition as some of the toughest boys in the city, was approached by Frank Ragen to become a legitimate organization. In 1908, Frank Ragen won the position of Cook County Commissioner and with his earnings; he paid for rent on the clubhouse and paid for sports equipment. In return, Frank Ragen changed the name of the organization to the Ragen Athletic Club and also wanted the boys to do favors for the Democratic Party, which included political intimidation and slugging.[26] Chicago sociologist John Landesco interviewed one criminal investigator in the Illinois Crime Survey who understood this and stated, "In the days before machine-gun politics, the knuckles of the club members made

[24] Bill Gleason, *Daley of Chicago: The Man, the Mayor, and the Limits of Conventional Politics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), 86.
[25]Landesco, *Organized Crime In Chicago,* 169.
[26] William M. Tuttle, Jr. *Race riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*, (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 199.

themselves so felt that in the words of a member, 'When we dropped into a polling place everyone else dropped out.'"[27]

Ragen's Colts were certainly known as some of the best athletes in the city and this notoriety had an undeniable effect on the youth. Even though they were just a neighborhood athletic club, the Colts made a name for themselves by beating entire cities' teams.[28] They were very adept at organizing themselves to move on anti-papist lectures. For example, in 1922, a lecturer named Eli Ericsson attempted to give what the Colts thought was going to be a hate speech. Before he could even begin speaking, the Colts intimidated him with taunts and shouts that he left Viking Hall and never came back.[29] This may be a direct inheritance from their Irish parents, who learned how to organize throughout history from the monster meetings for Catholic Emancipation in Ireland to Union meetings in the Stockyards. The Colts were also known for their outrageous dances and balls that featured underage drinking, fighting, kissing, and any other form of debauchery possible. With a politician's credibility, Frank Ragen denied all allegations of wrongdoing saying the charges were "a mass of lies."[30] These balls increased the Colts notoriety and caused criminal activity to be second nature to the boys.

Ragen's Colts were no strangers to crime and due to where they lived and how they grew up, that is not a surprise. Historian Andrew Diamond believes, "What Canaryville lacked in political resources, however, it made up for with criminal ones." Many of the gangsters and bootleggers would use the Canaryville athletic clubs as recruiting pools to do their dirty work.[31]

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[27] Landesco, *Organized Crime In Chicago*, 170.
[28] "BELOIT OUSTED FROM TOP BERTH BY RAGEN COLTS." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, May 28, 1917.
[29] "RAGEN COLTS, ON PLEASURE BENT, GET CORRALLED." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, Feb 04, 1922.
[30] "NEW YEAR BALL OF RAGEN COLTS BRANDED AS ORGY." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922)*, Jan 03, 1918.
[31] Andrew Diamond, *Mean Streets: Chicago Youths and the Everyday Struggle for Empowerment in the Multiracial City, 1908-1969*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 30.

They knew that their numbers would be enough to strike fear in their enemies' eyes when the Colts would chant their motto of "hit me and you hit two thousand." Their numbers swelled as they attained more notoriety causing other gangs like the Dukies and Shielders to join up. Their territory would overlap with that of Ragen's Colts and they would be inevitably absorbed.[32] Because many of Chicago's Irish were hired through patronage as members of the police force, the Colts were generally left unpunished for their wrongdoing. This is similarly stated in the *Chicago Defender* as the Colts were described as "allowed to operate free from police interference."[33] A future Colt, Timothy Murphy would gain strides as a politician, just to be incarcerated for robbery. Soon after, he became a labor union leader but was eventually shot down in the street by a rival gang.[34]

On the other side of 39th Street lived members of the Hamburg Athletic Club, which had its headquarters at 37th Street and Emerald.[35] The Hamburg Athletic Club, whose members were nicknamed the Hamburgers, was sponsored by politician Joseph (Big Joe) McDonough who would win 5th ward alderman in 1917 at the age of twenty-eight. He was only able to do so because the previous president of the Hamburgers, Tommy Doyle, beat the twenty-year-incumbent alderman and then left three years later to attain higher political positions. Empty alderman seats remaining in an Irish ward did not last very long before another Irishman, McDonough in this case, would be appointed to the spot. While the Colts were busy with dirty

[32] Ibid, 28-29.
[33] Barrett, *The Irish Way*, 42, 45.
[34] James Doherty, "MINORITY PLAN KEEPS BOSSES HAPPY IN 11TH." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1923-1963)*, Jan 27, 1946.
[35] Adam Cohen & Elizabeth Taylor, *American Pharoah Mayor Richard J. Daley: His Battle for Chicago and the Nation* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2000), 27.

politics, the Hamburg Athletic Club were busy gaining ground in one of the most powerful wards in the city.[36]

Pulitzer Prize winning author, Mike Royko wrote that the Hamburg Athletic Club "never had the Colts' reputation for criminality, but were handy with a brick."[37] No one wanted to cross over 39th Street from Canaryville or Wentworth Ave into Hamburg unless they wanted a beating. In 1918, as a high school student, Langston Hughes traveled from New York to Chicago. During his stay he was beat up by a group of boys after crossing from the Black Belt over Wentworth Ave to Hamburg. Their explanation was that "they didn't allow niggers in that neighborhood."[38] The Hamburgers were not completely against some ethnic inclusion as a retrospective in the Chicago Tribune looked back at the club as allowing those from other turfs to come to Hamburg to play and watch games at Comiskey Park when it was built in 1910.[39] Like the Colts, the Hamburg Club was full of talented athletes who, by legend, were able to win a game against one of the greatest pitchers of any race, Satchel Paige, and his teammates. Future mayor Richard J. Daley managed this Hamburg team.

The most famous of all Hamburgers was Richard J Daley, who was elected president of the club in 1924. "The Hamburgers gave Daley status in the community and thought the club's reputation was at times unsavory (some have labeled it an original street gang) Daley was never personally involved in any illegality."[40] His political and organizational skills were honed by working in the Stockyards for several years while going to law school at DePaul and becoming a precinct captain in 1920 for Joe McDonough, who would be a factor in Anton Cermak's creation

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[36] Ibid, 39-40.
[37] Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago,* 37.
[38] Hughes, *The Big Sea,* 33.
[39] Robert Davis and Michael Arndt. "Anatomy of a Melting Pot: Comiskey Park." *Chicago Tribune (1963-Current File),* Jul 20, 1986.
[40] Paul M. Green and Melvin G. Holli, *The Mayors: The Chicago Political Tradition, fourth edition* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013, 148).

of the unified Democratic Party Machine.[41] Disliking the aggressive press that his club received, Daley swore that the criticism was always greatly exaggerated when it came to the Hamburg's violence.[42] When Daley was going to the De La Salle Institute, he was the manager of the Hamburgers baseball team. While some called him a water boy, his real role was much more important; a teammate, Lawrence O'Neill recalled, "he made the lineups, booked the games, and ran the team on field during games."[43] Daley ended up as the president of the club for fifteen years and he set a fairly high bar for membership because the club is still active in modern times unlike many of the other contemporaries like the Colts.

The neighborhood of Brighton Park was on the north and west sides of the Stockyards and also fell victim to social athletic clubs. The type of social athletic club in Brighton Park was different though and featured almost no criminals. One person who founded a club specifically for politics and athletics was Edward J Kelly. Kelly helped in the founding of the Brighton Park Athletic Club and after serving as the club's president for a number of years, he became a better leader and politician. Its headquarters stood at 36th and Western and during the 1920s, it had 200 members that Edward Kelly certainly picked up on his way to becoming the club's president. While one of its main tenets was to sponsor sports, the Brighton Park Athletic Club's higher calling was politics. Ed Kelly's most important role was gathering enough members to get out the vote for 8 precincts. He succeeded and was noticed by the Democratic Party machine, and they gave him a job in the Sanitary District where he climbed the ladder up to Chief Engineer and soon after in 1933, he was elected mayor of Chicago.[44]

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[41] Royko, *Boss*, 33. & Roger Biles, *Richard J Daley: Politics, Race, and the Governing of Chicago* (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University, 1995), 21-22.
[42] Biles, *Richard J Daley*, 23.
[43] Gleason, *Daley of Chicago*, 130-1.
[44] Biles, *Mayor Edward J Kelly of Chicago*, 6-7.

There were of course other athletic clubs in the city, but they were run by the elites of Chicago. These athletic clubs had their homes in Gold Coast and in the Loop where they could talk politics after a day of work regardless of legality. Upper class athletic clubs closely resembled country clubs where most activities officially centered on golf, but many political and business negotiations were held in the clubhouse as well. Many of the clubs like the Chicago Yacht Club and the Chicago Athletic Club still exist to this day in basically the same state they were in at their inception. There are still clubs where an application for membership is required and not all applicants are accepted.

One example of an upper class athletic club is the Chicago Athletic Club. The Chicago Athletic Club bought the plot of land they would stay on from the Chicago Cricket and Athletic Association in 1892, making it one of the oldest clubs in the City.[45] One of Chicago Athletic Club's most prominent members was Republican Chicago Mayor Big Bill Thompson, who was in office during the 1919 Race Riots. He was the captain of the water polo and football teams as a teenager and his friend Gene Pike, a future city councilor, knew that Thompson could be a good leader, so he joked with him that he would not run for alderman. Thompson took that bet and utilized his pull to gain one of the 2nd Ward Alderman Seats in 1900. He would go on to win the office of mayor from 1915 to 1923 and 1927 to 1931.[46]

During the First World War, the need for labor in the factories brought close to a million blacks from the South to the North. Tens of thousands of blacks came from the South to Chicago in order to replace the soldiers who left. Jim Crow laws were not on the books in Chicago, but there were definitely agreements between neighbors and gangs that blacks who tried to move in would be forced out. They initially settled wherever they could, but due to those agreements,

[45] "CHICAGO ATHLETIC CLUB GROUNDS." *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1922),* Apr 19, 1892.
[46] Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan, *Big Bill of Chicago,* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2005), 28-33.

blacks ended up in one specific area called the Black Belt or Bronzeville. Bronzeville was a narrow strip of land along State Street that was only thirty blocks long and only a few blocks wide. Blacks were stuck there, but made the best of it creating a local YMCA, the Provident Hotel, and the Olivet Baptist Church, which held the largest black congregation of any church in Chicago.[47]

From the beginning of reconstruction, many blacks had tried to migrate from the South, but it took until the 1900s for the Great Migration to actually occur. Historian, James Grossman recalls that large numbers of blacks headed to New York, Detroit, and Cleveland, but as one Mississippi migrant recalled, "the Mecca was Chicago."[48] After World War I, laborers believed that their value as workers was more than they were being paid. The management needed strikebreakers, but cheap labor from European immigrants was scarce due to restrictions from the war. The solution came from within the country and employers made a historic decision to hire black workers.[49]

Utilizing the distribution of the black newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*, from trains to the South, blacks were able to find out about the job openings and rushed to write letters to businesses hoping for a response. Many did not wait for the response and headed north anyway to find the advertised land of milk and honey was becoming a land of sour milk and vinegar.[50] The attitudes of blacks when they came to Chicago were a little different than the attitudes of the Irish, for example. Instead of working for the ward bosses as cronies, blacks who lived in

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[47] Adrian Capehart, "Douglas," Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago, 2005. http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/388.html

[48] James R Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners and the Great Migration*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

[49] Robert G. Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders: A History of Chicago* (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 168.

[50] Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders*, 169.

Chicago before 1930 were mostly second-generation southerners who still clung to those values and mores that governed the socialization of black youth in the south.[51]

Black gangs did not have much influence during the first two decades of the twentieth century and did not really exist until after the Race Riots. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations found that "gangs whose activities figured so prominently in the riot were all white gangs, or 'athletic clubs.' Negro hoodlums do not appear to form organized gangs so readily. Judges of the Municipal Court said that there were no gang organizations among Negroes to compare with those found among young whites."[52] This meant that no matter what the Irish gangs put together, the blacks did not have any already formed gangs to go on the offensive. Making their lives even worse, in early June of 1919, Ragen's Colts decided to go to 54th Street on the other side of the Pennsylvania Railroad and cause a ruckus. They broke the windows of many black homes and knocked out the only streetlight on the only corner between the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Western Indiana Railroads.[53]

By the year 1919, there were several impetuses for the racial tensions that later erupted into a race riot. With migration from the South reaching its peak to nationwide employment coming to a peak, everybody wanted a scapegoat to blame. That scapegoat was the black population of Chicago. The Irish and other ethnic members of the Democratic Party saw the blacks as a challenge to politics at the time as well. Mike Royko wrote, "Besides the threat they posed in housing and job competition, the Blacks had antagonized the heavily Democratic white neighborhoods by voting Republican. They were given credit for Republican Mayor William

[51] Useni Eugene Perkins, *Explosion of Chicago's Black street gangs: 1900 to the present*, (Chicago: Third World Press, 1990), 19.
[52] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), 12.
[53] Diamond, *Mean Streets*, 19.

"Big Bill" Thompson's slim victory that spring."[54] Robert Spinney believed that due to fear of racial incitement, Big Bill banned the race-baiting movie, *Birth of a Nation*, in the city in 1915. [55] Big Bill was hugely popular with the black population as they thought he was the messiah leading them to the promised land of jobs and safety. In the *Chicago Broad Ax*, an elderly black lady, remembering a daily newspaper which after the election had renamed the city hall "Uncle Tom's Cabin, "gleefully proclaimed, "If that's the cabin that boy there [Thompson] is one of Uncle Tom's sons in the cabin.[56]

Was Big Bill Thompson an actual savior or was he just trying to keep that population on his side? In April and May of 1919, unemployment rose and with it the nation's industrial unrest. As a consequence, the United States suffered one of its worst years of labor strife since the 1890s.[57] Not realizing what awful things could come of it, an African-American newspaper, the *Defender*, advertised that the 25th Street beach was the safest and was the most accommodating option for African-Americans with free towels and lockers.[58]

On July 27, 1919, between the 25th Street Beach, which was designated for blacks only, and the 29th Street Beach, which was designated for whites only, there is an invisible border. Leaving a racial protest at the 29th Street Beach and heading north, a white man saw a handful of black boys playing near a homemade raft anchored to some rocks at the border between the two beaches. He thought that the boys had crossed the line and started throwing rocks, eventually hitting and drowning Eugene Williams. This started one of the biggest race riots of modern history that ended up killing thirty-eight and lasting until August 3rd.

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[54] Royko, *Boss*, 30
[55] Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders*, 170.
[56] *Chicago Broad Ax*, 1915.
[57] William M. Tuttle, Jr. *Race riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 18.
[58] *Chicago Defender*, July 5, 1919.

The Illinois Commission of Human Relations, which conducted a three year study of the riot, said, "Forty-one percent of the clashes occurred in the white neighborhood near the Stockyards, between the South branch of the Chicago River to 55th Street."[59] This meant that the majority of those involved in the fighting were residents of Canaryville and Hamburg. It does not take much deducing to figure out that the social athletic clubs were behind a lot of the damage. For example, the third day of rioting saw the Colts trying to prove a point to the Shielders, a gang that situated itself on Shields Avenue, by setting black houses, on the 'wrong side of the tracks,' ablaze.[60] The headline of the *Chicago Defender* read, "Ragan's Colts Start Riot, Gang of Hoodlums Riddle Man's Body with Bullets."[61]

The riots ended when Illinois Governor Frank Lowden sent in the 11th Illinois infantry and the sheriff deputized close to 2000, which totaled close to 6000 men.[62] The troops made a line between the Black Belt and Bridgeport fending off anyone who did not have a specific reason to be there. After it was all said and done, Lowden created the crime commission to find out the reasons why the riots happened and to make sure that they never happened again. Many people in Chicago believed that another race riot would occur in the years following 1919. Tuttle writes, "In fact, one of the supreme ironies of 1921 was that the Ragen Colts were not only 'mobilized for action,' but that the gang's target at that time was not Chicago's black people but rather the Ku Klux Klan for its anti-Catholicism."[63]

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[59] Royko, Boss, 30.
[60] Diamond, *Mean Streets*, 19
[61] "Ragan's colts start riot." *The Chicago Defender (Big Weekend Edition) (1905-1966)* July 28, 1919.
[62] "Street Battles at Night," *New York Times*, June 29, 1919 and "Troopers Restore Order in Chicago," *New York Times*, August 2nd, 1919.
[63] William M. Tuttle, Jr. *Race riot*, 257.

By the 1920s, the Irish population had grown in social status enough that numbers in gangs were dwindling. Irish gangsters turned into embarrassments for the South Side Irish.[64] The Irish role in bootlegging during Prohibition is documented as very important, but the North Chicago florist shop off Chicago Avenue that was home to the North Side Gang, the most important bootleggers in the city, was far from the racial tensions that Bridgeport and the Black Belt featured. The ethnic differences between the Irish and Italians north of the loop would be the death of the most famous Irish gangster of the Prohibition Era, Dean O'Banion, and the decline of the prominence of Irishmen in gangs.

Irishmen did not necessarily need a criminal organization to make them more masculine and the conventionalized gang based crime in social athletic clubs began to split with political and athletic structures. The falling rate of unemployment due to the Coolidge Prosperity brought along with it an increasing number of families able to afford motor vehicles. Motor vehicles allowed families with strong jobs to move to new suburbs; in those suburbs, children did not need to make gangs or join social athletic clubs to protect their territory. The definition of the Irish social athletic club changed around the years of the Race Riot of 1919. Due to mass involvement in racial and general crime, by 1922, Frank Ragen had severed ties with his Colts due to the tainting of his name.[65] Five years after the Race Riot and still in existence as a genuine social athletic club, the Hamburg athletic club saw it fit to elect Richard J Daley as its president, a position he would keep for fifteen years.

In Frederic Thrasher's immense study, out of the 1,213 cases of Chicago gangs, more than twenty percent of the gangs are formed from a Social or Athletic Club and the Irish

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[64] James M. Kane, *The Crooked Ladder: Gangsters, Ethnicity, and the American Dream* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 70.
[65] Diamond, *Mean Streets*, 43.

accounted for eight and a half percent of the gangs.[66] While these stats are not completely accurate due to the multiculturalism of the gangs, they are important to understand what kinds of people made up Irish social athletic clubs. He also figured that there were "two types of athletic clubs—the political type which is subsidized and to which you belong because you get something out of it that you do not pay for directly, and the self-supporting type. The latter usually fails because its members cannot make a go of it financially."[67] This dichotomy made or broke social athletic clubs and the former option was almost always the one remembered whether it be for sports, politics, or crime.

To conclude, in sociologist Robert Park's book, *The City*, he explains the pure essence of what shaped Chicago's urban youth by writing, "These gangs have exercised a considerably greater influence in forming the character of the boys who compose them than has the church, the school, or any other community agency outside of the families and homes in which the members of the gangs are reared."[68] There was not a more powerful force in the youth than the social athletic club and that message was shown when they created NFL teams, produced mayors, and fought for their territory and lifestyle. The Irish were able to take what they had been given from Hardscrabble and create a system that allowed for poor Irish youth to achieve what they had never thought previously achievable.

[66] Thrasher, *The Gang*, 60, 191.
[67] Ibid, 457.
[68] Robert Park, "Community Organization and Juvenile Delinquency," *The City*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 112.

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For Duty and Glory: Mazzini's Justification for Italian Colonial Expansion

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Giuseppe Mazzini leaves behind perhaps one of the most mixed legacies of modern liberal political thinkers; his idea of a peaceful international association of nations influenced former-U.S. President Wilson's vision of the League of Nations,[1] while Mazzini's emphasis on nationality provided fodder for fascist hegemonic expansion and Italian national supremacy. [2] The ability of this breadth of political ideologies to reference Mazzini for such widely divergent goals speaks to the occasionally contradictory nature of Mazzini's thought. Perhaps one of the most intriguing contradictions in his thought is his simultaneous emphasis on anti-imperialist principles, such as human equality, national self-determination, and a foreign policy of nonintervention, versus his call for Italian colonization of Tunisia : "the great civilizing mission suggested by our times."[3]

For Mazzini, humanity was united in a common faith under God, who represented a unifying principle rather than religious faith and guided mankind on a progressive path towards universal brotherhood. As a result, politics was ultimately a moral activity in which the individual always worked for the greater good of humanity. Nations that were considered to have sufficiently progressed therefore had a "duty" to aid and educate their struggling and less progressed brethren, even against their will, in the name of advancement for humanity as a whole. In the hierarchies implicit in his commitment to progress, Mazzini betrays a vision of

[1] Nadia Urbinati, "Introduction," in *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, ed. Nadia Urbinati (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 3.
[2] Roland Sarti, *Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics* (Westport: Praeger, 1997), 227.
[3] Giuseppe Mazzini, "Principles of International Politics," in *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, ed. Nadia Urbinati (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 238.

distinct but equal societies that is truly universal and reveals the essential narrowness of his project: in order for different nations to be considered equal they must fit *his* definition of a nation and purposefully associate for *his* vision of future unity. Though his justification for colonialism was ultimately rooted in the idea of a paternalistic duty to educate "less advanced" peoples until they could meaningfully associate like European republics, Mazzini was not blind to both the material and political benefits of colonialism to the European metropole in the nineteenth century. Indeed, colonialism was widely recognized by other liberal thinkers, like John Stuart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville, as part of the "spirit of the age" and an important means of strengthening domestic solidarity and vying with other European countries for prestige on the global stage.

Various historians have attempted to come to terms with the paradox of Mazzini's colonial policy. Scholarship tends to be divided between the choice to focus on Mazzini as a precursor to liberal internationalism or how his ideas were mobilized to support Fascism. Both Enrico Dal Lago and Roland Sarti embrace the former outlook, but, in doing so they fail to fully address the contradictions inherent in Mazzini's advocacy of colonial expansion.[4] In contrast, Martin Wight's argument that ultimately any non-Western country was destined to be subjugated and Mazzini was "a colonialist" at heart fails to explain *how* and *why* Mazzini justified expansive colonialism when he was critical of other nations' hypocrisy in proclaiming certain rights domestically while violating them abroad. [5] Although Mazzini was never able to definitively elaborate on his perceived colonial policy--dying only a year after he presented his call for

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[4] Enrico Dal Lago, *William Lloyd Garrison and Giuseppe Mazzini Abolition, Democracy, and Radical Reform* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2013); Sarti, *Mazzini*.

[5] Martin Wight, *Four Seminal Thinkers in International Theory: Machiavelli, Grotius, Kant, and Mazzini*, ed. Gabriele Wight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 109, http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199273677.001.0001/acprof-9780199273676; Mazzini, "On the Duties of Man," 96.

colonialism--the principles he lays out in his earlier writings and works by other prominent liberal imperialists like John Stuart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville offer possible explanations for how Mazzini was able to genuinely justify a colonial mission that was not contradictory to his political ideology. Indeed, his early works and the influence of other prominent intellectuals suggest that the seeds for a colonial civilizing mission were in fact embedded in the parts of Mazzini's political ideology that are most celebrated by liberal thinkers today.

Mazzini was born in Genoa in 1805, coming of age after 1815 when the Congress of Vienna arbitrarily placed Genoa under the repressive rule of the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia thereby repealing previous modest constitutional reforms.[6] From this early experience with monarchical repression, Mazzini would go on to fight throughout his life for the Italian Risorgimento and national self-determination against major European empires. He argued for the necessity of a truly popular uprising to guarantee national independence and republican government. The failures of multiple popular uprisings organized by Mazzini that aimed at Italian unification by overthrowing the rule of the Austrian empire made him an unpopular figure with monarchical authorities, causing him to live in self-imposed exile for the majority of his life. He spent a great deal of his time in London where he cultivated an international network of intellectuals committed to similar principles, including John Stuart Mill. Mazzini returned to Italy in 1849 to be the de facto leader of the short-lived Roman Republic before it was crushed by a French military force acting in the interest of the Holy Alliance.[7] Italy finally unified under a monarchical government in 1861, putting Mazzini in exile in London once more and making him simultaneously the "founder of the nation and…an enemy of the state."[8] Even with this disappointment, Mazzini continued to be politically engaged and published various essays

[6] Urbinati, *Cosmopolitanism,* 4.
[7] Ibid., 5-6.
[8] Sarti, *Mazzini*, 193.

during his final exile, including his 1871 proposal for Italian foreign policy and call for Italian colonization, "Principles of International Politics."

The concept of the nation was central to Mazzini's vision of international order; the nation was the primary site of association for individuals where the "universal principles of human freedom, equality, and emancipation would be best realized." Association between independent nations would create a "genuine *cosmopolitanism of nations,*" thus achieving true human unity.[9] It was therefore a moral obligation of a nation to humanity to limit nationalist chauvinism by acknowledging that respect was owed to all peoples on the basis of common humanity. In such a cosmopolitanism of self-determining nations, the ideal foreign policy would be one of nonintervention, but military force would be justified against an empire's attempts to squash a republican revolution as well as in cases of humanitarian intervention.[10] These principles, however, appear to conflict with a colonial project that necessarily implies a hierarchy between colonizer and colonized and subjugates the colonized to a lesser class of humanity. The fact that Mazzini condemned European nations that promoted human rights at home while denying them abroad further complicates his colonial legacy. Indeed, he denounces countries "that consider liberty to be sacred domestically but systematically violate it internationally…who say: 'Truth is one thing, utility another; theory is one thing, practice another.'"[11] Mazzini's explicit criticism of the hypocrisy of liberal support for empire therefore suggests his colonial policy does not necessarily contradict his more "idealistic" thought but is, as Mehta argues, "internal" to it.[12]

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[9] Urbinati, *Cosmopolitanism*, 2.
[10] Ibid., 26-8.
[11] Mazzini, "On the Duties of Man," 96.
[12] Uday Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 20.

Indeed, it is Mazzini's emphasis on the essential unity and equality of all people that makes a pedagogical colonial mission a human "duty." Like other nineteenth-century liberals, such as John Stuart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville, Mazzini opposed ideas of biological determinism and was deeply committed to the principles of equality and unity. Although he frequently used language associated with Christianity, Mazzini was not overtly religious but instead was strongly influenced by the Saint-Simonians and their belief in brotherly love as a way to unite otherwise disparate individuals. Mazzini's God therefore represented a principle of human unity that was able to override differences in civil society.[13] The coming of Christ was a vital moment historically, if not religiously, because it marked a shift to a more inclusive view of humanity: "Foremost amid the teachings of Christ were those two inseparable truths: *there is but one God; all men are children of God*. The diffusion of these two truths changed the face of the world and enlarged the moral circle to the confines of the inhabited earth."[14] While this statement is clearly intended as an expression of human unity and inclusion, it is also distinctly exclusive. A supposedly universal principle of human unity is mediated through a particular faith which is considered superior because it is the most inclusive.

Due to his belief in the essential equality and unity of humanity, Mazzini argued that all humans are morally equal, even if they are not equal in intellect or effort. In his 1832 essay, "On the Superiority of Representative Government," Mazzini argues that "Men are born morally equal…The only types of inequality existing among men are that of the intellect and… the greater of lesser exertion of their faculties."[15] However, because inequality of intellect is a "natural" inequality, Mazzini argues it is not "tyrannical" because it is a universally accepted fact of human existence. In *A Turn to Empire*, Jennifer Pitts argues that this distinction between

[13] Sarti, *Mazzini*, 58-9.
[14] Mazzini, "Duties of Man," 90-91.
[15] Mazzini, "Superiority of Representative Government," 49.

moral and rational equality was common in the nineteenth century and critical to legitimizing liberal imperialism: "Simple belief in human moral equality proved to be inadequate for genuine respect for unfamiliar people and insistence on humane and egalitarian relations with them."[16] Mazzini fits into this larger picture of nineteenth-century liberal imperialism described by Pitts. as the confrontation between a belief in moral equality on the basis of shared species-hood and an awareness of differences between societies necessitated the paternalistic guidance of less advanced , i.e. non-European, societies towards the "better" path.

Indeed, Mazzini argued that it was *because of* the essential moral equality and unity of humanity that inequalities needed to be alleviated. In "On the Duties of Man" written between 1841 and 1860, Mazzini writes, "we can only rise toward God through the souls of our fellow human beings, and…it is our duty to improve and purify them even when they do not ask for it."[17] Humans are at root moral beings and accordingly must act in the perceived best interest of the species, even though individuals and distinct groups may resist it. In 1836, Mazzini argued in "Humanity and Country" that once human faculties had been fully developed and individuals were actively working towards a common goal, human races and societies would be fused to achieve "unity in the widest, most comprehensive, and most profound possible sense. Unity in heaven and on earth, unity in every single part of this earth, unity in Humanity, and finally unity inside every human being."[18] Implicit is Mazzini's claim to the *absolute* nature of his vision for human progress. Even though he argued for recognition of the essentially equal nature of

[16] Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 5.
[17] Mazzini, "On the Duties of Man," 90-1.
[18] Mazzini, "Humanity and Country," 55.

difference and the challenge for the time was to "harmonize" and not eradicate difference,[19] setting a future goal for complete unity ultimately suggests only one utopian path for humanity.

Mazzini's support for a pedagogical duty of an advanced nation towards unequal members of society is concretely demonstrated in his continued support for the American abolitionist movement. Dal Lago charts the association and friendship between the American abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and Mazzini, asserting that a shared commitment to human rights ultimately brought them together.[20] Mazzini wrote several letters to Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*, expressing his support for the movement and highlighting the similarities between American abolitionism and European revolutionary republicanism. In a letter published in 1854, Mazzini expresses his support for the abolitionist movement, stating, "I believe in the unity of God… [and] in the educability of the whole human race."[21] For Mazzini, distinct individuals and groups may have different intellectual capacities, but because of the unity of humanity under God this difference can be alleviated with appropriate pedagogy. Mazzini's belief that educating less-advanced peoples could effectively minimize real intellectual inequalities is crucial to justifying colonial intervention on the grounds of morality rather than rapacity.

Mazzini's support of suffrage for African Americans in post-bellum America reveals his position that all people, regardless of race, should have suffrage on the basis of human moral equality. In a letter he wrote to the American abolitionist Moncure Conway in 1865 he insisted on the necessity of granting suffrage, questioning:

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[19] Mazzini, "Humanity and Country," 56.
[20] Dal Lago, *William Lloyd Garrison and Giuseppe Mazzini*, 13-4.
[21] Giuseppe Mazzini, "Letter of Mazzini," *The Liberator* (July 21, 1854), http://fair-use.org/the-liberator/1854/07/21/the-liberator-24-29.pdf.

> "Is not the vote the stamp of self-asserting human nature through the moral world [?]… Will you decree that colour is moral subalternity? Ignorance is, indeed; but you did not chose [sic] educated intellect as a test for the electoral right… [I]s not the vote the first initiating step to education? … Give the vote and education with it: shorten for them [African Americans] the blundering period."[22]

Mazzini's reference to education and intellect as the basis of political rights comes across as somewhat tongue-in-cheek, insinuating that if ignorance disqualified an individual from participation in politics many individuals who currently had the vote would be disqualified. The political right to vote was inevitably tied up in the political duty of determining the direction of governance in a democratic self-determining nation. As common duties are the ties that hold together associations, performing the duty of political participation was therefore an expression of morality. While this exchange refutes the idea that Mazzini harbored thoughts of racial discrimination in his advocacy of colonialism, it is important to recognize that he was addressing the need for African Americans to receive rights when they already lived in a nation founded on republican principles, which is notably distinct from recognizing the right to self-determination in a foreign population that must be conquered.

Mazzini's perception of universal suffrage and abolition as characteristic of a progressive nation has important ramifications for his colonial policy. . Dal Largo persuasively argues that abolition of slavery and commitment to rights common to all of humanity were markers of a progressive nation for Mazzini and thus entailed a duty for more advanced nations. [23] This argument also implies its necessary opposite: any state that was opposed to these principles was

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[22] Quoted in Howard R. Marraro, "Mazzini on American Intervention in European Affairs," *The Journal of Modern History* (1949): 113, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1872040.
[23] Dal Lago, *William Lloyd Garrison and Giuseppe Mazzini*, 137.

impeding human progress and military intervention could be justified on the grounds of humanitarian obligation. Though declaring moral equality, Mazzini implicitly claims moral superiority that legitimizes a project of educating other groups with "inferior" morality because they do not share his progressive principles.

Urbinati affirms that Mazzini perceived all nations, if not all principles, as morally equal and without hierarchy. This raises the important question, however, of what the requirements of nationhood were so that lacking them would legitimize foreign military intervention and a civilizing mission.[24] The answer lies in Mazzini's precise definition of a nation that emphasizes purposeful and conscious association. Mazzini presented nationhood as accessible to all peoples but only attainable by committing to his principles, thus rendering ostensibly universal principles distinctly Mazzinian. This blind spot allows Mazzini to overlook societies and states that do not fit his admittedly narrow definition and justified intervention to make them what they *should* be.

Throughout his political career, Mazzini repeatedly stressed the distinction between a cohesive people associated with a nation and a mere crowd. One standard of nationality crucial to justification for a colonial mission was conscious and purposeful association. Indeed, Mazzini insisted that nationhood was characterized by "*Unity of principles,* of *purpose,* and of *rights*…Without it there is no *nation,* but only a *crowd.*"[25] Sarti also notes in his biography of Mazzini this distinction between a mere throng or crowd and a genuine people: "Mazzini…defined *popolo* as 'the universality of those who compose the nation,' arguing that a people existed only as a nation…Until they emerged as a nation, they would be a mere throng (*gente*)…emergence of a nationality depended therefore on the capacity of individuals to come

[24] Urbinati, "Introduction," 14.
[25] Mazzini, "Superiority of Representative Government," 48.

together purposefully."[26] While there are other aspects of Mazzini's definition of a "genuine" nation, like equal rights and a common language, it is the criteria of conscious association and progressive purpose, indeed purposeful association, that are most relevant to a discussion of Mazzini's colonial consideration of a nation. Indeed, a nation must be driven towards "the progressive discovery of Moral Law," that would be achieved through "progressive association." [27] It is important that Mazzini does not address government or territory in his definition of a nation. Because a nation is defined entirely in terms of its inhabitants and their association, Mazzini is able to advocate Italian colonial expansion into a territory that is under the rule of an existing state, like Tunisia. Mazzini did not explicitly construct a binary between European nations as associated and progressive and non-Europeans as "backward," indeed, he was not above calling inhabitants of a pre-unified Italy a "throng,"[28] but this distinction is implied in the nineteenth-century European worldview espoused by other prominent intellectuals.

It is in his definition of a nation that Mazzini's ideas most resemble John Stuart Mill's, so that a brief exploration of Mill's differentiation between civilized and "savage" provides helpful background for understanding Mazzini. Mazzini was undoubtedly aware of Mill's paternalistic justification for liberal imperialism having written for Mill's *London and Westminster Review* while living in London in the 1840s. While there was disagreement between the two, such as Mazzini's criticism of Mill's 1859 essay *On Liberty* for being "*arriérée,"* or "behind the times," because of its focus on individual rights at the expense of duties,[29] they shared a similar commitment to paternalistic colonialism. Mazzini's denigration of disorganized masses is similar to Mill's distinction between savage and civilized societies that Mill presents in his 1836 essay

[26] Sarti, *Mazzini*, 54-5.
[27] Mazzini, "Principles of International Politics, 225.
[28] Sarti, *Mazzini*, 118.
[29] Ibid., 196.

"Civilization," where he argues that "savage communities" are characterized by widespread individual self-interest and in "civilized communities" humans act "together for common purposes in large bodies."[30]

In addition, Mill shared a commitment with Mazzini on the importance of progress and the duty of progressive European powers to tutor "backward" countries that are chained to custom. Due to his lengthy employment by the British East India Company, Mill developed much more explicitly what made a society "backward," and thus required tutelage. In *On Liberty*, Mill writes, "the greater part of the world has, properly speaking, no history, because the despotism of Custom is complete. This is the case over the whole East. Custom is there, in all things."[31] Mill therefore argued that a despotic paternalistic regime would be warranted if it succeeded in tutoring the "backward" society until it was capable of meaningfully possessing certain rights.[32] Mazzini generally avoided Mill's weighted language by focusing on human connections rather than differences, but a general belief in the "backward" character of non-European societies evidently justified his "civilizing mission."

While Mill and Mazzini exhibit aspects of a similar worldview, it is important also to recognize areas of disagreement. Though maintaining a predominantly European focus, Mazzini's explanation of different societies' attainment of civilization as historically contingency left more up to chance, instead of suggesting states of lesser civilization were due to some innate flaw in national character. In addition, Mazzini saw the deprivation of individual liberty as actually undermining the progressive impulse. Indeed, he asserted "Without liberty you cannot fulfill any of your duties[,]… there is no true Morality,…there is no true society…In short,

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[30] John Stuart Mill, "Civilization" (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 2005), http://www.laits.utexas.edu/poltheory/jsmill/diss-disc/civilization/civilization.html.
[31] John Stuart Mill, "On Liberty," in *The Basic Writing of John Stuart Mill* (New York: Modern Library, 2002), 72-3.
[32] Ibid., 72.

liberty must be granted to all human beings."[33] It is therefore highly unlikely that Mazzini would have envisioned Italian colonialism as an entirely despotic regime, especially considering his insistence on suffrage as an essential element of civic education in his support for African American suffrage.

Mazzini's particular definition of a nation is crucial because only nations, as Mazzini defined them, fit into his ideal world-order and were entitled to international recognition and nonintervention.[34] As Mazzini writes in his 1851 essay, "On Nonintervention," "the principle of Nonintervention is not to take effect except on the supposition that the parties concerned are distinct Nations."[35] As Mazzini elucidated later, societies that did not meet Mazzini's definition of a nation and did not contribute to greater human progress "may have their right to existence questioned." [36]

Mazzini further suggests that as long as the society that is being conquered is not already a distinct nation, foreign conquest is not necessarily antithetical to the development of nationalism. If a society is not already a distinct nation, conquest is not harmful because it is impossible to harm something that is not perceived as existing. Mazzini writes again in "On Nonintervention" that beneficial conquests "have always ended in the merging of the conquerors with the conquered, so as not to destroy the feeling of national independence and unity, but only to reinvigorate it by somewhat changing the organism."[37] For Mazzini, a benevolent invasion of North Africa would merely alter the composition of the future nation instead of repressing a previously expressed national sense.

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[33] Mazzini, "Duties of Man, 96.
[34] Urbinati, "Introduction," 25-7.
[35] Mazzini, "On Nonintervention," 214.
[36] Mazzini, "Principles of International Politics," 232.
[37] Mazzini, "On Nonintervention," 215.

Mazzini would not have agreed with Mill that "Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement,"[38] however his criterion of progress as a defining marker for nationhood is similar in effectively distinguishing "progressive" from "non-progressive". Though it seems unlikely that Mazzini would ever acknowledge his own elitist and paternalistic impulses considering his emphasis on popular uprising and governance, Sarti notes that elitist imposition of democratic forms is not inconsistent with Mazzini's actions in the Risorgimento. This elitist impulse emerges even in Mazzini's early methods of attempting to incite popular revolt against the Holy Alliance in Italy; in 1834 he directed a military invasion of Italy with the hope this would incite the people to rise up in popular protest which ultimately failed. Sarti observes that for Mazzini, "The initiative could not come from the people at large, but the masses would follow the leaders…If the mass refused to follow, it was still important to act simply for the sake of one's conscience."[39] Even in the face of active popular resistance certain actions could be legitimated if they were deemed to be truly "moral."

It is therefore clear that when Mazzini proposed an invasion of Tunisia he did not perceive it as a true nation. When outlining his plan for Italy's foreign policy in 1871, Mazzini describes how to extend Italian power internationally, the steps of which are: "first, establish an alliance with the Southern Slavs and with the entire Hellenic element; second, systematically increase the Italian influence at Suez and Alexandria; third, invade and colonize the Tunisian lands when the opportunity presents itself."[40] Based upon previous discussion of the Mazzinian definition of a "people" and a "nation," it is significant that Mazzini does not mention the existing population or state when calling for Italian colonial expansion but instead addresses an

[38] Mill, "On Liberty," 12.
[39] Sarti, *Mazzini*, 118-9.
[40] Mazzini, "Principles of International Politics," 238-9.

invasion of Tunisian "lands." Mazzini mentions the fulfillment of a moral civilizing mission, "by transforming the religious idea," but more directly acknowledges the purely material aspects of colonization: "by pursuing our industrial and agricultural activities in those lands, we will contribute to changing the material world."[41] Mazzini only obliquely references the presence of an existing population, focusing more on the material and territorial aspects of colonization. Due to the fact that the population is not already perceived as meaningfully associating, the masses might have presented themselves as yet another form of raw material that needed to be shaped into a nation.

It is impossible to know the exact form Mazzini envisioned for an Italian colonial mission but it seems unlikely Mazzini would advocate the total subjugation of the indigenous population. While Mazzini was opposed to the imposition of democracy by foreign intervention,[42] his support of a civic education and political participation for freed slaves suggests he would favor a form of colonial rule that would "raise backward societies to a level of moral and political development where the principle of nationality could take hold, so that meaningful self-determination would become possible."[43] As MacCunn rightly notes in *Six Radical Thinkers*, for Mazzini, universal suffrage and democratic participation were an essential educating element in teaching people to view each other as equals and therefore fulfill the triumvirate of liberty, equality, and association.[44]

There still remains the question of why Italy was particularly capable of performing a civilizing mission. When calling for American support for the republican nationalist uprisings in

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[41] Ibid., 238.
[42] MacCunn, "Religious Radicalism of Mazzini," 249.
[43] Stefano Recchia, "The Origins of Liberal Wilsonianism: Giuseppe Mazzini on Regime Change and Humanitarian Intervention," in *Just and Unjust Military Intervention: European Thinkers from Vitoria to Mill*, ed. Stefano Recchia and Jennifer Welsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 259-60.
[44] MacCunn, "The Religious Radicalism of Mazzini," 242.

Europe, Mazzini argues it is the moral duty of republican nations once they achieve "self-constitution" to look to the greater realm of "Humanity and [link] herself, by noble deeds, with the general aim."[45] It is therefore possible to see how a colonial mission presented itself as a natural next step by the time Mazzini wrote "Principles of International Politics" in 1871. At this point Italy had achieved unification, although under a monarchical rather than republican regime, and was therefore perceived as prepared to exert a greater international force to guide human progress.

Mazzini's particular definition of nation fits into Pitts's characterization of nineteenth-century liberal imperialism as a whole that asserted certain rights, like national self-determination, are historically-contingent and require a certain stage of civilization before they can take hold. [46] Mazzini differed from his contemporaries, however, by arguing that historical contingency was the result of divine providence. As Wight suggests, progress, for Mazzini, was the earthly manifestation of divine providence and the progressive impulse that defined nations and gave them international recognition and non-intervention was a product of a divine plan.[47] As such, Mazzini uses providence as support for Italian colonization: "Europe was once populated by Asian migrants who brought us the first seeds of civilization and the first national tendencies. Today, *providence* leads Europe to carry back to Asia the civilization that grew from those seeds on its own privileged lands [Emphasis added]."[48] Consistent with Mazzini's emphasis on essential moral equality and shared species-hood in his earlier writings, Mazzini does not suggest that Europeans are inherently superior to other peoples , thus avoiding any arguments of inherent racial supremacy. However, by pointing to providence as a reason for

[45] Howard R. Marraro, "Mazzini on American Intervention in European Affairs," *The Journal of Modern History* (1949): 113-4, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1872040.
[46] Pitts, *A Turn to Empire.*; Recchia, "The Origins of Liberal Wilsonianism," 259.
[47] Wight, *Four Seminal Thinkers in International Theory*, 93.
[48] Mazzini, "Principles of International Politics," 238.

Italian colonization, Mazzini also deflects responsibility, insidiously suggesting that certain actions that would otherwise be condemned can be undertaken if the opportunity presents itself because opportunity is the manifestation of God's will. As Wight perceptively comments, "God was always there, ready to lift the burden of responsibility from Mazzini's shoulders."[49]

Indeed, it was because of providence that Mazzini perceived Italy as uniquely capable of playing an edifying role in the international sphere. According to Mazzini, Italy had three historic missions that resulted in progressively greater degrees of unity:

> First, the Rome of the caesars pursued the goal of *political* Unity…Second, the Rome of the popes tried to achieve *moral* Unity…today's Rome of the People—the Rome of the Italian Nation—believes in Progress, the collective life of Humanity, and the division of labor among Nations. Our *goal* consists in uniting all other Nations in the brotherly pursuit of a common undertaking, both as their leader and their supporter in times of hardship.[50]

In Mazzini's repeated propagation of the idea that each nation has something unique to contribute to human progress as a whole, he always stresses Italy's special role in leading an association of republican nations. Indeed he argues, "if there is a people that based on its geographical position, traditions, and natural abilities is expected by other peoples to play a great civilizing role in Europe, it is certainly us."[51].

By stressing the superiority of Italy to lead a civilizing mission at the time, Mazzini implicitly constructs cultural hierarchies even though he professes his commitment to equality of nations and human morals. In this sense, Mehta's claim that imperial hierarchies are "internal" to nineteenth-century liberal thinkers' universal language is applicable because, "in a single glance

[49] Wight, *Four Seminal Thinkers in International Theory,* 119.
[50] Ibid., 235.
[51] Ibid., 232.

and without having *experienced* any of it, they [generalities] make it possible to compare and classify the world. But that glance is braided with the urge to dominate the world, because the language of those comparisons is not neutral and cannot avoid notions of superiority and inferiority, backward and progressive, and higher and lower."[52] Mazzini's use of universal language notably represents a belief in the superiority of European values, so that not sharing his vision of human progress is tantamount to a nation discarding its right to international recognition and even inviting colonial intervention Parekh's astute portrayal of liberal narrowness as the need to "argue *both* that the liberal principles are universally valid and that they are uniquely European in their origin and inspiration" is therefore applicable to Mazzini, except Mazzini appears to less consciously bend principles for the sake of a colonial justification than other liberal imperialists.[53]

Although colonialism was primarily justified as a pedagogical mission for the greater human good, Mazzini clearly recognized colonial expansion as a way to both achieve international prestige in the time and strengthen Italy's domestic unity. Indeed, colonization of other peoples was widely recognized by European nations as necessary for national prestige.[54] Although Mazzini nursed a deep-seated distaste for France because of its active role in quashing Italian republican revolutionary uprisings, a brief examination of Alexis de Tocqueville's argument for a French colonial presence in Algeria exemplifies the dominant belief in colonialism as a part of the "spirit of the age."

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[52] Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire*, 20.
[53] Bhikhu Parekh, "Superior People: The Narrowness of Liberalism from Mill to Rawls," *Times Literary Supplement*, February 25, 1994, http://find.galegroup.com/tlsh/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=TLSH&userGroupName=columbiau&tabID=T003&docPage=article&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&docId=EX1200473198&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0 (accessed November 2, 2014).
[54] Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871-1995*, 47.

Unlike Mazzini and Mill, Tocqueville maintained no pretensions of a colonial enterprise "civilizing" a foreign population in any meaningful way.[55] Tocqueville was relatively optimistic before his 1841visit to Algeria and idyllically prophesied the future fusion of French and Algerian societies, as Mazzini would proclaim the future fusion of humanity.[56] However, Tocqueville left Algeria disillusioned by the violence required to maintain a colonial presence and gave up the idea of assimilation, advocating the necessity of different legislative systems for the indigenous population and French settlers instead.[57] Tocqueville became pessimistic about the possibility of achieving lasting peace between the indigenous and settler populations; "the moment the laborer appears behind the soldier, they will conclude that we mean not only to conquer but to dispossess them. The quarrel is…between races… in order for us to colonize to any extent, we must necessarily use not only violent measures but visibly iniquitous ones."[58] Perhaps because he did not believe colonialism could improve the indigenous population or even treat them equitably, Tocqueville was much more candid about how colonial expansion would benefit the European metropole in terms of international prestige. Despite the military effort and cost of colonization, Tocqueville observed, "I do not think France can think seriously of leaving Algeria. In the eyes of the world, such an abandonment would be the clear indication of our decline [*décadence*]."[59] In Tocqueville's writings colonization is essentially self-interested; it is a way for European countries to acquire international prestige and achieve domestic solidarity at the expense of non-European peoples.[60]

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[55] Pitts, *A Turn to Empire*, 206-7.
[56] Pitts, *Turn to Empire*, 208.
[57] Alexis de Tocqueville, "Essay on Algeria," in *Writings on Empire and Slavery*, trans. Jennifer Pitts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 111.
[58] Ibid., 83.
[59] Ibid., 59.
[60] Pitts, *A Turn to Empire*, 220.

Although Mazzini clearly opposed the idea of colonialism as purely realpolitik he was quite aware of the political currency that came with colonization. He exhibits a willingness to engage in colonialism as a bid for prestige in the eyes of other European countries at the time, writing, "Just as Morocco is for the Spanish and Algeria is for France, so Tunisia should become our own… We were the masters of that entire region until the fifth century. Today the French covet it and they will soon have it if we don't get there first."[61] Mazzini puts forth his argument for Italian conquest in two temporalities: he advocates joining in the current European rush for North Africa as part of the 'spirit of the age' and alludes to the precedence of the Roman Empire that Mazzini saw as the historical precursor to a unified Italy. In doing so, he uses a tactic similar to Tocqueville, advocating colonial expansion as a way to compete with other European powers on an international scale and alluding to a Roman past as a way to increase domestic solidarity at the time. Lista and Sheridan suggest that alluding to the Roman Empire further heightened Italian national awareness by evoking "the 'history of the homeland[,]'…giving to Italians the awareness of being a single people, and…inciting them to reawaken in themselves the moral, ethical, and creative virtues of their ancestors. The culture of unified Italy would have to come from the evocation of the great figures and heroic deeds of the past."[62] In addition, Mazzini rallies Italian support by proclaiming, "Italy was once the most powerful colonizer of the world, and she should not lose out on this wonderful new movement."[63] Colonization as a means of achieving glory at the time was therefore a way for European nations to engage in European power-play on an intercontinental scale. It must also be noted that Mazzini's support for Italian colonial expansion as a way to achieve national glory was the aspect of his thought that lent itself

[61] Mazzini, "Principles of International Politics," 239.
[62] Giovanni Lista and Scott Sheridan,"The Activist Model; Or, the Avant-Garde as Italian Invention," *South Central Review* 13 (no. 2/3 1996): 16, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3190370.
[63] Mazzini, "Principles of International Politics," 238.

most readily to fascist manipulation. To focus purely on an argument for conquest as a way to achieve national glory, however, is also to critically overlook Mazzini's moral justification for civilizing colonialism.

Mazzini evidently recognized the practical and fashionable politics of colonization as an opportunity for national glory and to participate in an indirect power play with other European powers at the time. More important, however, was his belief that a civilizing mission was a duty that more progressed nations had to perform for the greater benefit of humanity. Mazzini's argument for the necessity of a civilizing mission is ultimately rooted in his profound sense of human unity. Nevertheless, in presenting his vision for human progress as universally accessible, Mazzini assumes a narrow definition of a nation based on conscious association and progress which allowed him to overlook the existing states and populations Due to the fact that Mazzini died before Italy began a colonial mission in earnest,[64] it is difficult to know the details of his vision for Italian colonization. Nevertheless, based on his communication with American abolitionists and his emphasis on essential human rights, it seems likely that he would have supported a civilizing mission that stressed the principles of liberty, suffrage, and universal education as a way to tutor the region and its peoples until they could meaningfully unite.

[64] Martin Clark, *Modern Italy, 1871-1995*, 58.

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Snatching Bodies, Making Doctors: Stealing Black Corpses for Medical Education in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century American South

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Presented in W. Reece Berryhill's *Medical Education in Chapel Hill: The First One Hundred Years*, the above photograph is coupled with the following caption:

"Students working in the second dissecting hall around 1900. Located near the present site of Venable Hall, this building was abandoned after Caldwell Hall was occupied in 1912." [1]

[1] Image from W. Reece Berryhill, William B. Blythe, and Isaac H. Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill: The First Hundred Years* (Chapel Hill: UNC Medical Alumni Office, 1979), 13.

Indeed, taken at the turn of the twentieth century, this picture shows aspiring medical students learning their trade. They are smartly dressed, some wearing aprons and others not. As the caption informs viewers, they are inside a "dissecting hall," a space designated specifically for exploring and understanding human anatomy. The caption ignores the focal point of this photograph, however. Under the gaze of each of the seven living men is one who has long since taken his last breath. With legs bursting into the foreground and threatening to fall off the dissecting table, this figure commands attention from its audience, which sits both within and beyond the photographic frame.

The longitudinal perspective of the cadaver on the dissecting table is rarely seen in photographs taken at this time. More commonly, the dissected body appears horizontally in the photographic frame with students and instructors positioned behind it.[2] The decision to photograph the cadaver from this angle allows for the observation of revealing details that would have otherwise gone unnoticed. The most important of these is that the body on the dissecting table, that which remains of it, once belonged to a living, breathing, black man. Although the photograph is poorly lit and the right leg of the cadaver has been so sufficiently dissected that it makes racial classification difficult, there can be no doubt that the man is of African descent: the paleness of the sole of his left foot contrasts substantially with his dark upper thigh.

How then, did this black man arrive on the table in a dissecting hall of a Southern medical school? It is doubtful that he "donated his body to science," a modern concept that became popular much later than 1900. Furthermore, it is unlikely that his body was obtained legally. In fact, at the time of this photograph, not one law existed in North Carolina that directed medical schools on the acquisition of bodies, black or white, for dissection.[3] Rather, it was at this

[2] John Harley Warner and James M. Edmonson, *Dissection: Photographs of a Rite of Passage in American Medicine 1880-1930* (New York: Blast Books, 2009), 40-89.

time that medical schools in North Carolina, like many others across the American South, relied on more dubious means to supply their students with the necessary "clinical material." On one hand a horrifying desecration of the deceased, on the other a lucrative business practice supplying a scientific necessity, body snatching as a means of supplying cadavers to Southern medical schools was a practice that not only existed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — it thrived.

Dissection, a necessary science

When the medical students in the photograph above made their first incisions into the human subject that lay before them, they were not engaging in a novel or innovative mode of academic exploration. In fact, human dissection has existed since at least the third century B.C. when Greek physicians made "extensive anatomical and physiological discoveries" by way of the ancient surgical knife. Although dissection was not widely practiced in the first thousand years A.D., its prevalence picked up again in the fifteenth century. During this time however, dissections were not for medical purposes, but for artistic ones. The firsthand study of human anatomy was especially beneficial for artists like Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, evidenced by their masterful renderings of the human form and its detailed musculature. Later in the eighteenth century, the practice of dissection moved from the realm of art back to the medical arena, where it would cement itself as a quintessential teaching tool; in London and elsewhere in Europe, "experience in dissecting was conventional practice" for aspiring physicians and surgeons. Yet, it wasn't until the nineteenth century that dissection for educational purposes was regularly practiced in the United States. It was at this time that students, including Thomas Eakins, whose later paintings *The Gross Clinic* (1875) and *The Agnew Clinic* (1889) accurately depict contemporary surgeries, began the intense study of human anatomy through dissection in

medical schools located in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. From the first decades of the nineteenth century onward, the practice of dissecting human cadavers became increasingly common as more medical schools were established across the United States.[3]

Human dissection was not always a mechanism for scientific enlightenment, however, and in some cases it was employed in a grisly manner. In sixteenth-century British law, for instance, public dissection was included as a means of punishment that was worse than death. This penalty was transferred into New York state law in at least some part following the American Revolution, for in 1792 Albany man Whiting Sweeting was sentenced "to be hanged by the neck until [he was] dead, and [his] body delivered to the surgeon for dissection." At this same time, the Massachusetts General Court ruled that anyone who died as a result of a duel would be sentenced to post-mortem dissection and dismemberment, a harsh punitive threat. Of course, perhaps the most infamous, and spine-chilling, use of dissection for non-medical purposes was the series of murders in the Whitechapel district of London in 1888 at the hands of the unidentified Jack the Ripper. At least three of Jack's victims were found with their abdominal organs carefully removed. Such gruesome applications led some to believe that dissection was a "desecration of the corpse" that "represented a gross assault upon the integrity and identity of the body." Nevertheless, for the past three centuries, dissection has remained an important avenue for the mastery of human anatomy. Its continued practice today suggests that any moral

[3] Heinrich von Staden, "The Discovery of the Body: Human Dissection and its Cultural Contexts in Ancient Greece," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 65 (1992): 224; Suzanne M. Schultz, *Body Snatching: The Robbing of Graves for the Education of Physicians in Early Nineteenth Century America* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1992), 1; Helen MacDonald, *Human Remains: Dissection and its Histories* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), 12; Michael Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 49, and Shultz, *Body Snatching*, 6.

shortcomings have been sufficiently outweighed by its educational value. This value is nowhere more apparent than within the confines of the formal medical school.[4]

The Medical School

The first medical school in then-British America was established in Philadelphia in 1765. In the decades that followed, additional schools were founded in New York City and Cambridge, Massachusetts. While the study of anatomy was indeed emphasized, the lack of cadavers available for dissection limited instructional experiences. At the Harvard Medical School in Cambridge,[5] "a single body was made to do duty for a whole course of lectures." The shortage of clinical material in medical schools restricted class sizes and reduced students' opportunities for hands-on experience. As a result, fewer physicians than society required graduated from medical schools in the United States' earliest years. Historians Robert L. Blakely and Judith M. Harrington explain the dire consequence: "the dearth of anatomical training was evident in the poor treatment given to patients by physicians…if [medical students] were to become more than haphazard and butchers, they needed the intimate knowledge of the human anatomy provided by direct dissection." Under pressure from the public, the medical school curriculum evolved. The result was a shift to the "Paris method" in which students were permitted to dissect cadavers first-hand, no longer resigned to the role of audience member in an impersonal lecture hall.

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[4] Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 32; *The Narrative of Whiting Sweeting, Who was Executed at Albany, the 26th of August, 1792* (Albany, 1794), 11, 19, in Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 103; John B. Blake, "The Development of American Anatomy Acts," *Journal of Medical Education* 30 (1955): 433; Detailed accounts of the Ripper's mutilated victims can be found in tens if not hundreds of works. Here I will cite Peter Ackroyd, introduction to *Jack the Ripper and The East End*, ed. by Alex Werner (London: Chatto & Windus, 2008), 8; Quote from Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute*, retrieved from Edward C. Halperin, "The Poor, the Black, and the Marginalized as the Source of Cadavers in United States Anatomical Education," *Clinical Anatomy* 20 (2007): 489.

[5] Founded in 1782, the original Harvard Medical School was located in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The school was moved to Boston, where it is currently located, in 1810.

Eventually, courses in anatomy styled in this fashion were not only preferred by medical students, they were required for their graduation.[6]

A similar dilemma existed elsewhere. As "medical colleges [in the United States] multiplied with alarming rapidity and without restraint" in the nineteenth century, increasing in number from five in 1810 to sixty-five in 1860 -- mirroring the rapid growth of the nation's population -- the number of cadavers obtained through legal means could not keep pace with the demand. For many schools, this created a critical problem. One university president warned that "without dissecting material, it will be necessary to close the [medical] school." In an effort to avoid this outcome, the unlawful acquisition of cadavers for dissection became a widespread occurrence. In Vermont alone, it is estimated that around 360 bodies were snatched between 1820 and 1840. By far the most effective method for procuring bodies, body snatching provided a means to an end and kept medical schools in operation.[7]

Body snatching: the history and the act

Evidence of body snatching,[8] defined in this essay as the physical removal of bodies from their graves for the purpose of medical dissection, was recorded as early as 1763 in British America. It was in this year, according to the November 28th issue of the *New York Gazette*, that

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[6] Blake, "American Anatomy Acts," 432; Harvard quote from *Boston Gazette*, May 5, 1788, in Jules Calvin Ladenheim, "'The Doctors' Mob' of 1788," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* Winter (1950): 25; Robert L. Blakely and Judith M. Harrington, "Grave Consequences: The Opportunistic Procurement of Cadavers at the Medical College of Georgia" in *Bones in the Basement: Postmortem Racism in Nineteenth-Century Medical Training*, ed. Robert L. Blakely and Judith M. Harrington (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 165, 166; Meghan J. Highet, "Body Snatching & Grave Robbing: Bodies for Science," *History and Anthropology* 16 (2005): 419, DOI: 10.1080/02757200500390981.

[7] Blake, "American Anatomy Acts," 433; Linden F. Edwards, "Resurrection Riots During the Heroic Age of Anatomy in America," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 25 (1951): 178; Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 48; Second quote from President Edwin Anderson Alderman's Report at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, February 1899, in Manning, "History of UNC Medical School," 16; Shultz, *Body Snatching*, 15.

[8] This essay will use the term "body snatching," rather than "grave robbing," to indicate the removal of bodies from their graves. The decision is in accordance with historian Suzanne Shultz's assertion that "would-be thieves took only bodies for their purposes, leaving behind all of the personal effects that were buried with the deceased." (Schultz, *Body Snatching*, ix) Grave robbing, as opposed to body snatching, is commonly associated with the stealing of material items within the grave, like clothes or jewelry, and was not usually practiced by body snatchers.

a "Body has since been taken up, and likely to become a Raw Head and Bloody Bones, by our Tribe of Dissectors, for the better instruction of our young Practitioners." Body snatching continued throughout the end of the eighteenth century. In 1788 alone, riots broke out against anatomy students and their professors in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York City due to body snatching activity. Furthermore, one student at Harvard Medical School wrote that it was in 1796 when he "began the business of getting subjects."[9]

As the number of medical schools expanded in the first decades of the nineteenth century, so did the act of stealing corpses. Vast regional networks for snatching and transporting bodies developed in the Northeast and Midwest United States as well as the South.[10] Numerous newspaper reports from across the country detailed instances of body snatching in local communities.[11] In some regions, the body snatching business boomed. In a letter to a colleague in 1858, University of Virginia Medical School professor John Staige Davis wrote of the "extreme inconvenience" the abundant supply of cadavers was causing him; his dissecting room had become overcrowded with subjects. In 1854, body snatchers were "emptying at least six hundred or seven hundred graves annually in and about New York City. At the dawn of the Civil War, however, body snatching came to a halt. There was no need to steal bodies from graves; over half a million corpses were available if students had the time to dissect them. More

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[9] Claude Heaton, "Body Snatching in New York City," *New York State Journal of Medicine* 43 (1943): 1861-1865 in Sappol, "Traffic of Dead Bodies," 104; Sappol, "Traffic of Dead Bodies," 45 and Ladenheim, "Doctors' Riot," 23-43; Edward Warren, T*he Life of John Collins Warren, MD. compiled chiefly from his Autobiography and Journal* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), 409.

[10] Transport in South: James O. Breeden, "Body Snatchers and Anatomy Professors: Medical Education in Nineteenth-Century Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (1975): 329, in Midwest, Martin Kaufman and Leslie L. Hanawalt, "Body snatching in the Midwest," *Michigan History* 55 (1970): 31, and in Northeast, Frederick C. Waite, "Grave Robbing in New England," *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association* 33 (1945): 283.

[11] While many nineteenth-century newspapers printed articles or reports relating to body snatching, only a few are cited here. "Grave Robbing: How Human Ghouls Glide into 'Potter's Field' and Secure Subjects for Medical Science…" *Louisville Courier-Journal*, August 11, 1878, 4, "Robbing the Grave," *Chicago Tribune*, March 8, 1871, 4, "Charged with Body Snatching," *New York Times*, January 3, 1885, 2.

commonly, however, students and physicians were kept busy tending to the masses of the wounded. In the years following the war, body snatching resumed. In 1879, the author of a contemporary periodical suggested that "at least a majority" of the five thousand cadavers dissected each year in the United States were acquired illegally, most likely through body snatching. For those schools engaged in the ghastly deed, long gone were the days of cadaver scarcity. In the nineteenth century, the decade of the Civil War notwithstanding, body snatching was having its heyday.[12]

While the act of body snatching varied slightly in each instance it was practiced, the overall structure of the practice remained fairly consistent. In most cases, body snatching consisted of three distinct steps, the first of which was learning of an upcoming burial. This was often achieved by communication with informants in a local community. In 1820, a New York man described a conversation he had with a body snatcher passing through town who "inquired…about the sick, wanted to know their size, proportions, &c." After acquiring all of the necessary information, the second step for snatching was locating the grave site. This was done in daylight, often times under the guise of hunters in search of small game or family members going to pay their respects to a deceased relative. Hours later, under the cover of night, the last step of resurrection commenced.[13]

The snatching of a body required at least three men, two to exhume the corpse and one to hide and then return in a getaway vehicle. Before anyone broke ground, the grave site was carefully surveyed by shaded lantern light for any sticks, rocks, or flowers that if displaced,

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[12] Breeden, "Body Snatchers in Virginia," 342; David C. Humphrey, "Dissection and Discrimination: The Social Origins of Cadavers in America, 1760-1915," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 49 (1973): 821; Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 238; T.S. Sozinsky, "Grave-robbing and Dissection," *Penn Monthly* 10 (1879): 216-217 in Humphrey, "Dissection and Discrimination," 822.

[13] Breeden, "Body Snatchers in Virginia," 322; N. P. Wiley to I.B. Van Schaik, New York, January 14, 1820? in Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 113.

might suggest a disturbance. A large tarpaulin or cloth was then set adjacent to the grave to catch any dirt removed in the disinterment. To maximize efficiency, the entire coffin was not removed. Historian Suzanne M. Schultz writes that "no self-respecting [body snatcher] would have loitered in a cemetery for the length of time it would have taken to accomplish this task." Instead, an approximately three-foot-square hole was made at the head of the grave, determined by the position of the surrounding grave stones. Loose dirt as a result of the recent burial made digging easy. Once the coffin was exposed, an auger was used to bore holes into the lid, a much quieter alternative to a saw or an ax. After removing the lid, the corpse was strapped into a unique apparatus that involved a harness with a ring attachment. A rope was fastened to the ring and the body was slowly removed. Any clothes or jewelry found on the body was thrown back into the grave; the snatchers wanted to avoid any chance that their subject would be later identified. After restoring the site to its original condition, the party of men, now one more in number, hurried away to the escape vehicle. The most experienced of body snatchers could exhume a body in under an hour.[14]

Initially, bodies were delivered directly to medical schools following disinterment, usually by wagon. As body snatching operations expanded, however, bodies were stuffed into large barrels, whiskey casks, or boxes, packed in bran, and shipped long distances via railroad. An excerpt from the 1879 *Galveston Daily News* details the arrest of a body snatcher who shipped bodies in boxes from Chattanooga all the way to Cincinnati and Atlanta under the impression that such boxes contained fish or fur. To avoid similar detection, body snatchers in Virginia cut a deal with the Virginia Central Railroad, which "received increased freight rates" as payment for the transport of corpses. Even with this additional cost, many body snatchers

[14] Schultz, *Body Snatching*, 32; The process of body snatching is paraphrased from Waite, "Grave Robbing in New England," 279-281.

made a handsome profit. Adult corpses in Virginia could be procured for $12 per body, excluding shipping rates. In New York, this price could be as much as $30 per body. A pricing list from 1850 shows that body snatchers were not above stealing the youngest of corpses: "infants from birth to 8 years" were $4 each. In one physician's opinion from this same year, a "newborn child found dead at a door in Norfolk, would have been ideal 'for exhibiting foetal circulation.'"[15]

Body snatching was a seasonal practice that only occurred when medical schools were in session, usually between November and February. Of course, this was the optimal period for snatching anyway, as the cold weather delayed the body's natural decomposition and therefore preserved corpses for dissection. Anything other than natural refrigeration could wreak havoc on the body snatching trade. In November of 1849 in Virginia, for instance, uncharacteristically warm weather led to an "unavoidable" delay in the acquisition of bodies. It had been so warm, stated one body snatcher, that, "the subjects are all in incipient putrefaction when buried." Two attempts at exhumation were all for naught, the bodies were "too far gone."[16]

Since its inception in the eighteenth century, body snatching in the United States has served the vital purpose of supplying cadavers to medical schools for anatomical education. In the nineteenth century, the exhumation of corpses became downright systematic and as a result, snatchers located and unearthed bodies with swiftness and ease. Keeping well aware of unexpected weather and its potentially disastrous effects, some snatchers made respectable profits, transporting bodies to medical schools both locally and across great distances. But just who were these people that busied themselves with the traffic of the dead?

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[15] Breeden, "Body Snatchers in Virginia," 334; "Wholesale Body Snatching," *Galveston Daily News*, November 30, 1879, col. D; Breeden, "Body Snatchers in Virginia," 328, 335.
[16] H.L. Thomas to John S. Davis, Charlottesville, September 25, 1849, in Breeden, "Body Snatchers in Virginia", 331.

The snatchers

On December 6, 1875, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* printed an editorial that described body snatchers as "unprofessional bunglers" who partake in "nefarious work." Careful not to let the snatchers' employers off the hook, the author added that "the respectable professors who hire such miserable starvelings…to get corpses for them are even more guilty than their wretched tools." The editorial sheds light on a critical aspect of body snatching in the nineteenth and early twentieth century: the act of snatching was almost always instigated by medical schools, even when middlemen executed the disinterment. This fact is underscored in a brief report from an 1879 issue of the *Louisville Courier Journal* in which two men were arrested in Nashville for "attempting to unearth a corpse" at a local cemetery. Upon conviction, one of the men revealed that "he was employed by the medical department of the University of Tennessee to which place, if they had been successful, the body would have been taken." Indeed, many medical school administrators and instructors, including the aforementioned Davis in Virginia, dealt either directly or indirectly with professional body snatchers to secure their supply of cadavers. It is therefore important not to underestimate the role of the medical school establishment as the primary driving force for body snatching at this time. It was at the request of the schools and the promise of their patronage that professional body snatchers removed corpses from their graves.[17]

These professional body snatchers, also labeled at the time as "resurrectionists," "sack-um-up men," and "night doctors," are often portrayed by historians as shady, unreliable figures who were mostly "free-lancing rustics." However, it can also be said that they were enterprising opportunists, capitalizing on the spike in demand for cadavers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What is more, they were often quite clever. One man who personified this

[17] "Body-Snatching," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 6, 1875, 4; "Body Snatching: Jordan, the Nashville Grave Robber, Fined $25 – The Sexton Implicated," *Louisville Courier Journal*, November 25, 1879, 1; Breeden, "Body Snatchers in Virginia," 328.

ingenuity was William Cunningham, known as "Old Cunny" to his peers, who worked in the 1860s as a wagon driver by day and a body snatcher by night in Cincinnati, Ohio. On a typical evening, "Old Cunny" would remove a body from the grave, dress it in old clothes, and position it in his wagon beside him. If anyone came too close, Cunningham would reprimand his dead companion by shouting, "Sit up! This is the last time I am going to take you home when you get drunk," and then, perhaps ironically, as "Old Cunny" was a heavy drinker himself, adding "The idea of a man with a family disgracing himself in this way!" Around the same time in Washington D.C., another cunning body snatcher practiced her craft. Maude Pratt frequently attended funerals of the recently diseased where she acted genuinely distressed, accompanying the coffin all the way to the cemetery. Once the ceremony concluded, she would drop flowers at the site of the new grave, marking it for later resurrection. Stories like these suggest that body snatchers were not all the "unprofessional bunglers" described above. Some resurrectionists were masterful at their jobs and, willing to risk arrest and public condemnation, could profit handsomely from their "nefarious work."[18]

While employing professional resurrectionists as middle-men distanced medical schools from body snatching, it was often easier, and less expensive, for professors and students to exhume bodies themselves. In 1818, Dr. Thomas Sewall, who would later go on to establish the George Washington University School of Medicine in Washington, D.C., was suspected of removing bodies from eight different graves. The bodies were eventually found in Sewall's possession—he was using them to teach surgery to a group of medical students. In another instance, Dr. Valentine Mott, a surgical teacher and president of the New York Academy of Medicine in 1850, assisted in unearthing and transporting eleven corpses for dissection, all in one

[18] Halperin, "The Poor, the Black," 490; Breeden, "Body Snatchers in Virginia," 322; Schultz, *Body Snatching*, 59, 61.

night. Mott was not the only president of the Academy to participate in body snatching; each of the first six men to hold the title were involved in body snatching at some point during their careers.[19]

Students also played an integral role in snatching bodies. Edward Dixon, a medical student at Rutgers in the early 1830s, remembered his educational experience years later as one characterized by "diligent use of the shovel and the scalpel." Students at the Columbus Medical College in Ohio could echo this sentiment forty years later. It was they, and not their professors, who were responsible for stealing bodies from the cemetery at the Columbus State Hospital. Some students benefitted financially from body snatching. One 1872 Detroit Medical College graduate paid for his medical studies by moonlighting as a body snatcher, stealing corpses from a Canadian cemetery and selling them to the University of Michigan. In other places, body snatching helped offset the cost of procuring a body for dissection. This was as much as five dollars at one medical school, a steep price in the early nineteenth century.[20]

Although body snatching was very much an illegal enterprise, it was deemed absolutely necessary by medical schools across the United States. Many schools relied on professional body snatchers who eagerly participated in the "traffic of dead bodies"[21] for personal income. While the employment of middle-men (and, like the case of Maude Pratt, middle-women) distanced respectable professors and their students from criminality, it was often simpler, and more economical, to do the snatching themselves. A rich history exists of professors and students who braved both the law and personal trepidations to procure bodies for dissection. There is no doubt

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[19] Ibid., 51, 52, 49.
[20] Edward H. Dixon, "Scenes in a Medical Student's Life – Resurrectionizing," *The Scalpel* 7 (1855): 93-100, in Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 116; Shultz, *Body Snatching*, 54; Kaufman and Hanawalt, "Body Snatching in the Midwest," 31-32; *Report of a Committee of the Regents of the University Appointed to Visit the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the City of New-York, Made to the Regents, January 12, 1826* (Albany, NY, 1826), 18-20, in Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 112.
[21] This rather macabre phrase is borrowed from the title of Michael Sappol's book on the subject of body snatching.

that these corpses, utilized as educational tools, became a vital aspect of medical learning. Equally important, however, were the living people to whom those bodies once belonged.

The snatched

"There was a hierarchy for the eighteenth-century dead as surely there was one for the living," historian Steven Wilf once observed. In the nineteenth century and at the turn of the twentieth, this assertion continued to ring true. Usually, the wealthiest of the deceased were buried under a church floor or close enough to its walls to be guarded by a warden or a hired watchman. Those families that could afford to protected their relatives with a host of mechanisms, including iron cages called "mortsafes." Also useful in fending off body snatchers was the invention of the iron coffin; an advertisement from 1894 claims that it is "burglar proof" and "cannot be penetrated by chisel or drill." More natural deterrents to potential resurrectionists also existed. One African-American newspaper from 1827 suggests layering wheaten straw between a coffin and the surface of the ground, assuring that "the longest night will not afford time sufficient to empty the grave." Of course, the simplest and least expensive method to inhibit body snatching was to have family members stand guard at the grave site for several days until the body became unfit for dissection. Unfortunately, the safeguarding options listed above required considerable amounts of money, a willing family, or both, things the impoverished and lonely lived without. Consequently, body snatchers concentrated their efforts on the cemeteries that held the bodies of this destitute demographic, those buried in potter's fields. It was here that medical historian Frederick C. Waite observed, a body "did not remain long in the grave."[22]

[22] Steven Robert Wilf, "Anatomy and Punishment in Late Eighteenth-Century New York," Journal of Social History 22 (1989): 511, in Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 106-107; Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 107; Halperin, "The Poor, the Black," 491; "Coffins That Can Be Relied On: They Are Made Burglar and Fire Proof and Will Give Satisfaction," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 23, 1894, 36; "Varieties: An easy Way to Secure Dead Bodies in their Graves," *Freedom's Journal*, New York, NY, March 30, 1827, 4; Halperin, "The Poor, the Black," 491; Waite, "Grave Robbing in New England," 279.

In some cases, the bodies of those snatched did not even make it into the grave. In 1879, one doctor claimed that bodies frequently disappeared from morgues and the "dead rooms of hospitals." Those bodies that were interred in potter's fields and cemeteries for the impoverished were often poorly guarded, if at all. Guards could be bribed by money and whiskey, and some were regular accomplices in the act of snatching. In one instance in Nashville in 1879, a body snatcher "proved conclusively that he had been in the habit of purchasing stiffs [(bodies)] from the sexton of the cemetery at $3 apiece." Other sources of bodies were prisons, train stations, docks, asylum burial grounds, and almshouses. The number of bodies acquired from one almshouse in Philadelphia was so high that its guardians came to be known as the "Board of Buzzards."[23]

Indeed, some bodies of those at the higher echelons of society made their way onto the dissecting table. The most famous example occurred in 1879 when the body of United States congressman John Scott Harrison, son of President William Henry Harrison was found at the Ohio Medical College. Reports of such instances of body snatching that involved the well-to-do members of society often made the newspapers, but these were few and far between. The great majority of bodies snatched in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries belonged to the impoverished and disenfranchised and often went unnoticed. While "white paupers crowded the country's almshouses," another group, the black community, was far more vulnerable to body snatching, particularly in the South. It is here where this essay turns to focus on this group and their vital role in shaping American medical education.[24]

Black bodies: the vulnerable

[23] Sozinsky, "Grave-robbing and Dissection," 216-217 in Humphrey, "Dissection and Discrimination," 821; Halperin, "The Poor, the Black," 491; "Body Snatching," *Louisville Courier Journal*, 1; Highet, "Body Snatching & Grave Robbing," 421; Humphrey, "Dissection and Discrimination," 823.
[24] Halperin, "The Poor, the Black," 491.

"In Baltimore the bodies of coloured people exclusively are taken for dissection," commented English sociologist Harriet Martineau during her visit to Maryland in 1835, "because the whites do not like it, and the coloured people cannot resist." Indeed, voiceless and marginalized in society, the black community was afforded little protection for their dead in the United States' nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a result, blacks fell victim to body snatching and, as easy targets, were often the preferred source of anatomical material for medical schools. As historian D.C. Humphrey put it, "Dissecting a white was risky business. Dissecting a black was largely a matter of finding a body."[25]

As early as the eighteenth century, black bodies were singled out for snatching in the United States. In 1788, free and enslaved blacks petitioned the New York City Common Council to put an end to body snatching in black cemeteries by white medical students. The appeal was ignored. As one New Yorker wrote, "the only subjects procured for dissection are the productions of Africa…and if those characters are the only subjects of dissection, surely no person can object." Almost a century later, black bodies remained a vulnerable target. In one black cemetery in Philadelphia in 1883, melting snow revealed a number of empty graves, as if the ground "had been subjected to an aerial bombardment."[26] It is important to note here that the medical school establishment at this time was one that was dominated by whites; black students were simply not admitted to medical schools. This trend would continue throughout most of the nineteenth century -- it was not until 1868 that the first medical school for African Americans was established in the United States and even then black doctors worked in a "Negro medical

[25] Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (London: Saunders & Otley, 1838) vol. 1, 140; Humphrey, "Dissection and Discrimination," 820.
[26] Ibid., 820; T. M. Gallagher, *The Doctors' Story* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World: 1967), 48-49, 53 in Humphrey, "Dissection and Discrimination," 820; Halperin, "The Poor, the Black," 490.

ghetto."[27] Therefore, as long as body snatching existed, it was the corpses of the poor and marginalized that served as favored specimens for dissection. In an era characterized by racial discrimination, the black community was virtually defenseless against wily resurrectionists.

Snatching in the South

In the American South, the dilemma facing black communities was even more acute. For it was here that the concentration of blacks was the greatest and where, as historian Todd L. Savitt noted, "they were rendered physically visible by their skin color but were legally invisible because of their slave status." The discrimination did not cease following Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Instead, throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, blacks remained the primary subjects for dissection in southern medical schools.[28]

A fascinating discovery in 1989 gives credence to this point. It was during this year at the Medical College of Georgia that construction workers stumbled across bones and other remains buried in the basement of the medical college's dissecting hall. Archaeologists were called to the scene and by way of forensic technology, were able to classify by race those bones which are believed to have belonged to dissected bodies. In an examination of twenty four buried tibiae, it was determined that 79 percent belonged to African Americans, the other 21 percent to Euro-Americans. The result is particularly telling, as census counts during the period of dissection suggest that only 42 percent of the college's surrounding population was African-American.

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[27] The medical school designated specifically for black students was the School of Medicine at Howard University in Washington, D.C., founded in 1868. However, it is worth noting that Howard's first graduating classes included a "large percentage" of white students. Other black medical schools established later, like Meharry Medical College in Nashville, TN, founded in 1876, had a significantly larger proportion of black students. See W. Montague Cobb, "Surgery and the Negro Physician: Some Parallels in Background," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 43 (1951): 151.

[28] Todd L. Savitt, "The Use of Blacks for Medical Experimentation and Demonstration in the Old South," *The Journal of Southern History* 48 (1982): 332.

Although a minority in the general population, black bodies were frequently employed as instruments for anatomical education.[29]

There is no doubt that Southern medical schools were well aware of their geographic proximity to black communities and in turn, the access they had to their graves. Some schools openly advertised the fact. In an 1831 issue of the *Charleston Mercury*, the Medical College of South Carolina was described as follows: "No place in the United States offers as great opportunities for the acquisition of anatomical knowledge. Subjects being obtained for the coloured population in sufficient numbers for every purpose and proper dissection carried out without offending any individuals in the community!" Similarly, the Louisiana Medical College in New Orleans advertised that among its "admirable advantages for instruction of medical students – particularly those destined for southern practice," was "the great facility of obtaining subjects for dissection" from the nearby New Orleans Charity Hospital, one that admitted black patients. Other schools, while avoiding the specific mention of dissection, did exalt the usefulness of black bodies for the advancement of medical knowledge. In 1853 the Hampden-Sydney College Medical Department (named the Medical College of Virginia after 1854) proclaimed that "The number of negroes employed in our factories will furnish materials for the support of an extensive hospital, and afford to the student that great desideratum – clinical instruction."[30]

Not all clinical material for dissection was supplied from local sources, however. In some cases, black bodies were disinterred in the North and shipped to the South. In the 1830s, one

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[29] Robert L. Blakely, "A Clandestine Past: Discovery at the Medical College of Georgia and Theoretical Foundations" in Blakely and Harrington, *Bones in the Basement,* 3 and Blakely and Harrington, "Grave Consequences," 174.

[30] Quote from a "Prospectus of the South Carolina Medical College" in Theodore Dwight Weld, *American Slavery as it is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (American Anti-Slavery Society: 1839), 169; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* (1833): 643-647, in Walter Fisher, "Physicians and Slavery in the Antebellum Southern Medical Journal," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 23 (1968): 46; Savitt, "The Use of Blacks," 335.

New York newspaper published an article under the headline, "More Pork for the South." The text below described the intended transport of "two dead negroes" from New York City to Charleston, South Carolina. Likewise, body snatchers in the South routinely shipped black bodies to medical schools in the North. During the 1880s and 1890s, an anatomy professor at one New England medical college received "twelve bodies of southern Negroes," twice each academic session. Such transport between the North and South underscores the importance of the black body for dissection purposes. Once snatched, black bodies became commodities in high demand that could be shipped hundreds of miles before they were laid on the hard surface of a dissecting table.[31]

In lieu of body snatching, professors and students at some medical schools in the South attempted to lure living black bodies into their examination rooms. Of course, blacks would never enter such places at their own will. Savitt writes that even "illiterate slaves did not have to read [the advertisements] to learn about medical-school hospitals; their reputations preceded them." Instead, advertisements for anatomical material were directed towards slaveholders. One rather frank example comes from a certain Dr. T. Stillman, affiliated with the Medical College of South Carolina:

> "To planters and others – wanted 50 Negroes. Any person having sick Negroes, considered incurable by their respective physicians, and wishing to depose of them, Dr. S. will pay cash for Negroes affected with scrofula, or king's evil, confirmed hypocondriasm, apoplexy, diseases of the liver, kidneys, spleen, stomach and intestines,

[31] J.S. Buckingham, *America, historical, statistic, and descriptive* (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1841) 159; Humphrey, "Dissection and Discrimination," 823-824.

bladder and its appendages, diarrhea, dysentery, &c. The highest cash price will be paid on application as above."[32]

Although there is no evidence to suggest Dr. Stillman's advertisement found willing slave contributors, support for the vital role of the black slave in the advancement of medical knowledge can be found elsewhere. For instance, four of the eight articles in an 1836 issue of the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* mentioned the treatment of slaves. In an 1838 issue of the same journal, a professor from Georgia reported that slaves served as the subjects of 80% of the eye operations he conducted. Also of note was the performance of six surgeries in the presence of students in the Medical College of Georgia's anatomical theater in 1838, three of which involved slaves. A particularly vulnerable subgroup of the American black population, slaves could be forced to participate in medical procedures against their will, much to the benefit of medical students practicing their craft. Moreover, accepting slaves whose afflictions were "considered incurable," allowed for the possibility of medical enlightenment before and after the subject's inevitable death. While body snatching was often a criminal and burdensome task, admitting infirmed slaves and dissecting their corpses post-mortem was a much simpler yet less common alternative to body snatching.[33]

A range of reaction

Public reaction towards body snatching during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries varied widely. Some raged against medical schools when they caught word of the removal of corpses for scientific purposes. Following the disinterment of bodies from a grave in

[32] Savitt, "Physicians and Slavery," 336; Advertisement originally appeared in *Charleston Mercury*, October 12, 1838, in Weld, *American Slavery as it is,* 171.
[33] *Southern Journal of Medicine and Surgery* 2 (1838): 335, 643-647 in Fisher, "Physicians and Slavery," 46.

Painesville, Ohio in 1845, a group of citizens adopted a series of resolutions, one of which proclaims:

> "Resolved, that we most solemnly believe that those who have no regard for the dead, can have but little respect for the living, and those who respect neither dead or living, should never receive the confidence of the public."[34]

Other responses were far more violent. Following the precedent set by the "Doctor's Mob Riot" of 1788, in which a mob of New York City citizens hunted down the anatomy professors of the city's medical college for secretly unearthing bodies from a local cemetery for dissection, numerous rowdy protests broke out in the nineteenth century in states including Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, Illinois, and Missouri. In Baltimore, following an 1807 riot that demolished the dissecting hall, architects designed a new medical building that still stands today, complete with "maze-like corridors to thwart potential mobs trying to break into the anatomy laboratory." Even after building this safeguard, the threat of continued riots prevented dissection at the medical department of the University of Maryland until 1832.[35]

Following the Civil War, it was widely regarded that the nation was lacking in medical expertise. Historian Michael Sappol writes that "many diplomaed practitioners were exposed as incompetent, unable to perform amputations, set fractures, remove bullets, or do other basic surgeries." As such, there was a push to revamp medical education across the newly united country with an increased emphasis on first-hand dissection to develop critical skills. In turn, some members of the public adopted more moderate opinions of body snatching. These views were generally characterized by a criticism of the means but an appreciation for its ends. That is, while many people abhorred the idea of ripping corpses from their coffins, they understood the

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[34] *The Ashtabula Sentinel*, November 4, 1845 in Edwards, "Resurrection Riots," 178.
[35] Edwards, "Resurrection Riots," 180-184; Halperin, "The Poor, the Black," 491; Edwards, "Resurrection Riots," 180.

importance of dissection for the education of future physicians. This point is illustrated in an 1875 article titled "Body-Snatching" which includes both assertions that "dissections of the human body are absolutely necessary for a medical course" and that "the crime of body snatching is one that should be punished with hard labor in the Penitentiary for life."[36]

Public opinion was also shaped by popular literature. When the American version of Charles Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* was published in *Harper's Weekly* in 1859, readers were introduced to the character of Jerry Cruncher, who, like many actual body snatchers, had an ordinary job by day and resurrected corpses by night. Body snatching also made its way into Mark Twain's literary classic, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. When Tom and Huck Finn sneak off to a cemetery at midnight to cure a wart, they witness the snatching of "old Hoss Williams" at the hands of Injun Joe and Muff Potter on behalf of "Sawbones," the "young Dr. Robinson." Such fictional accounts of body snatching, laid out clearly for public consumption, suggest that the subject was far from taboo. Rather, body snatching was a significant reality in American society and affected more than medical students and their procured specimens.[37]

In some instances, the public called directly on the government to intervene so that cadavers for dissection could be obtained legally. In an 1881 letter to the editor, one Tennessee citizen suggests "allowing [medical] colleges to have the bodies of criminals and unclaimed paupers" for dissection. Indeed, since 1831, legislative measures known as Anatomy Acts existed in the United States, authorizing local officials to deliver the bodies of those who would otherwise be buried at the public's expense (those who died in state hospitals, prisons, almshouses, or other state facilities). In turn, body snatching was made illegal and could be punished by heavy fines. States in both the North and the South established their own Anatomy

[36] Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 238; "Body Snatching," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 4.
[37] Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities (London: Chapman & Hall, 1859), 183-187; Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 63-68.

Acts throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Not all acts were the same, however. Those written in the South commonly sought to assuage the fears of the white community and ensure that only blacks would be handed over to dissectors. One bill proposed in the Kentucky House of Representatives in 1833 called on the courts of the state to "adjudge and award [only] the corpses of negroes executed by sentences" to medical schools "for dissection and experiment." Years later in 1903, an Anatomy Act in North Carolina was amended to include that no white cadaver would ever be delivered to a black medical college for dissection. Whatever their content, the Anatomy Acts were often weakly enforced and did not deter body snatchers. No clearer is this disregard for the law than in a report that stemmed from the arrest of a certain body snatcher named Richard Jordan. The report concludes with a line stating that, "Jordan, after securing the [punitive] fine, stated publicly that he would resume operations again as soon as the excitement blew over."[38]

Racialized responses

Owing to the aforementioned preference resurrectionists had for the graves of the black community, it is understandable that blacks and whites harbored different fears in regards to body snatching and dissection. Most members of the white population were concerned only about the deceased who shared their rung on the social ladder. This was evident in New York in 1788 when the exhumation of numerous bodies from a black cemetery went ignored while the snatching of a single white female led to rioting. Exemplary of the racialized rhetoric of the time, some believed that body snatching allowed for blacks and other disadvantaged populations to "repay their debt to society." As long as it did not involve them or those they knew, many

[38] "Body-snatching Again," *Daily American*, February 4, 1881, 3; Blake, "American Anatomy Acts," 436; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Frankfurt, Ky., 1833), 107; 1903 N.C. Session Laws, 666, 1056; "Body Snatching," *Louisville Courier Journal*, 1.

members of the white population were not overly concerned with body snatching. In the words of an anatomy professor at the University of Michigan, "the 'better people' could rest easy."[39]

Members of the black population, particularly in the South, were not afforded this luxury. Savitt writes that "blacks usually knew full well how the bodies of their friends and relatives were being used, and they were both offended and frightened." In one instance in 1856, an elderly black woman exclaimed to her friend as they passed by the city's medical school, "Please Gawd, when I dead, I hope I wi' dead in de summah time" – alluding to the previously noted fact that body snatching only occurred in the winter months, when medical schools were in session and the body could be sufficiently preserved. Following the Civil War, whites, as a means of controlling recently emancipated black men and women, invented rumors of supernatural "night doctors" who stole, killed, and dissected blacks. Although fictitious, the fear that such rumors bred was very much real. Four verses of a poem ominously titled, "The Dissecting Hall," details the anxieties of the black community:

> Yuh see dat house? Dat great brick house?
> Way yonder down de street?
> Dey used to take dead folks een dar
> Wrapped een a long white sheet.
>
> An' sometimes we'en a nigger'd stop,
> A-wondering who was dead,
> Dem stujent men would take a club,
> An' bat 'im on de head.

[39] Wilf, "Anatomy and Punishment," 512; Mieke M.F. Curtis-Richardson, "Corpses As Commodities: The Ethnography of Covert Medical Practices in Georgia, Ca. 1835-1997," in Blakely and Harrington, *Bones in the Basement*, 340-370; Kaufman and Hanawalt, "Body Snatching in the Midwest," 35-36.

An ‘drag dat poor dead nigger chile

Right een dat ‘sectin hall

To vestigate ‘is liver – lights –

His gizzard an’ ‘is gall.

Tek off dat nigger’s han’s an’ feet –

His eyes, his head, an’ all,

An’ w’en dem stujent finish

Dey was nothin’ left at all.[40]

Blacks did not only play the role of “the snatched.” In several cases, they were complicit in the act of resurrecting bodies. In one 1883 episode, for instance, it was the black superintendent of a Philadelphia cemetery who permitted resurrectionists to unearth bodies at will. Four years earlier, a report out of Nashville highlighted the activities of three “negro body-snatchers.” Blacks were also accomplices to body snatching in situations in which they had little choice. In the mid-nineteenth century, the previously mentioned Medical College of Georgia employed “resurrection slaves” to steal black corpses. Between 1842 and 1852, these slaves obtained no less than sixty-four bodies for dissection.

In 1852, the Medical College of Georgia officially purchased one of these slaves, a man named Grandison Harris. Harris’s task was to snatch black bodies from a local cemetery and deliver them to the medical college’s dissecting room. After several years of work, Harris gained

[40] Savitt, “The Use of Blacks,” 340; Robert Wilson, “Their Shadowy Influence Still Hovers About Medical College,” *Sunday News Courier*, Charleston, S.C., April 13, 1913, in Savitt, “The Use of Blacks,” 340; Gladys-Marie Fry, *Night Riders: In Black Folk History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 3 and Savitt, “The Use of Blacks,” 340; Poem in *Scribe*, I, (December 1951), 17 in Savitt, “The Use of Blacks,” 341.

an impressive degree of familiarity with human anatomy, and he often served as a sort of teaching assistant alongside fledgling medical students. In fact, Harris's expertise garnered great respect—it was said that "students freely went to him, much more than they did to the instructors." Unfortunately for the black man, he was likely loathed in his local community. Historian Tanya Telfair Sharpe compared Harris' presence in black neighborhoods to that of a drug dealer in today's society: one that evoked both fear and jealousy. Following the one-time slave resurrectionist's retirement in 1905, he was granted a pension of $10 a month and his son was hired on as a janitor. Although Harris was a rare example of a black man benefitting from the practice of body snatching, his story does add gray to a broader narrative that is often painted solely in black and white.[41]

The big picture: body snatching and the role of the black body

Placed in a larger context, body snatching and the subsequent dissection of cadavers was only one way in which the black body served to advance medical education in the American South in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, Dr. James Marion Sims, who practiced gynecological surgery in Alabama, had no known experiences with snatching bodies for dissection. Yet, in the 1840s and early 1850s, he performed numerous experimental surgeries on black slave women by which he developed a cure for vesico-vaginal fistula.[42] Years later, Dr. Sims reflected on his brave patients, who, without their "indomitable courage" would have left the "broad domain of surgery" without "one of the most useful improvements that shall forever

[41] Halperin, "The Poor, the Black," 490; "Body Snatching," *Louisville Courier Journal*, 1; Harold Jackson, "Race and the Politics of Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Georgia" in Blakely and Harrington, *Bones in the Basement,* 200; Tanya Telfair Sharpe, "Grandison Harris: The Medical College of Georgia's Resurrection Man" in Blakely and Harrington, *Bones in the Basement*, 213, 220.

[42] A "vesico –vaginal fistula is a break in the wall separating the bladder from the vagina, which allows urine to pass involuntarily to the outside from the vagina rather than the urethra. Women suffering from this defect, usually the result of trauma during childbirth, are incontinent of urine and continually uncomfortable." See Savitt, "The Use of Blacks," 344-345.

hereafter grace its annals." Additional medical breakthroughs, including the first successful ovariotomy, the first operations on anesthetized patients, and the perfection of the Caesarean section, relied on the black body.[43]

Yet, even in the larger picture of the black body as a useful medical tool, body snatching stands out in bold. This is because the very act of resurrecting the dead black body bestows an importance on it that never existed while the body was alive. Borrowing the words of anthropologist Lesley A. Sharpe, the black community in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries served as one example of the "socially expendable categories of persons [who were] ironically transformed into valued objects through their involvement in medical research." In 1951, black anatomist W. Montague Cobb wrote on this irony, stating, "…our [white] colleagues recognized in the Negro [on the dissecting table] a perfection in human structure which they were unwilling to concede when that structure was animated by the vital spark." This is not to say that body snatching and dissection eliminated racialized and hierarchical feeling. In fact, the act of manipulating a helpless body is in many ways one that carries immense power. As medical students were educated during "that stage of life, when the transformation of character is inevitable," it is possible that the body snatching and dissection of black corpses led them to perceive the black man as inhuman or subordinate. Upon the dissection table however, a certain education in equality cannot be ignored. As aforementioned traveler Martineau claimed, white medical students who dissected black cadavers "cannot say that coloured people have not nerves that quiver under moral injury, nor a brain that is on fire with insult, nor pulses that throb under oppression." Through dissections, students learned, whether they realized it or not, that

[43] J. Marion Sims to H.V. Wooten, January 23, 1850, Hardy Vickers Wooten Papers (Manuscripts Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Ala.) in Savitt, "The Use of Blacks," 346-347.

differences between black and white bodies were, quite literally, only skin deep. It was body snatching that made this lesson possible.[44]

Decline and legacy

While the bulk of body snatching activity occurred in the nineteenth century, some sources date its existence well into the twentieth. According to one author, body snatchers still operated in Tennessee in the 1920s, selling cadavers to four medical schools in Nashville and sending surplus bodies to Iowa. Eventually, however, the passage of Anatomy Acts, in conjunction with an improved public opinion of medicine, eliminated body snatching in the United States. Medical breakthroughs in bacteriology, surgery, and preventative medicine confirmed the importance of research, and an increasing number of people began donating their bodies to science. In 1968, this process was made easier with the passage of the Uniform Anatomy Gift Act. Adopted by all fifty states, it replaced the patchwork of previous state legislation and ensured the right of a donor to bequeath his or her own body to medical science and education.[45]

Without daily reminders, it is vital that the history of body snatching remains intact. Eased by the existence of donation programs today, the process of procuring bodies for dissection in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was complex and in most cases, criminal. Body snatching was meticulously planned and executed by aspiring medical students, their desperate professors, and enterprising middlemen, who all attempted to meet the rising

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[44] Lesley A. Sharp, "The Commodification of the Body and Its Parts," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29 (2000): 296; Cobb, "Surgery and the Negro Physician," 148; Warner and Edmondson, "Dissection," 9; Martineau, "Retrospect of Western Travel," 141.

[45] Rhoda Truax, *The Doctors Warren of Boston: first family of surgery* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), 313, in Humphrey, "Dissection and Discrimination," 824; Humphrey, "Dissection and Discrimination," 824; Blake, "American Anatomy Acts," 437; Aaron D. Tward and Hugh A. Patterson, "From Grave Robbing to Gifting: Cadaver Supply in the United States," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 287 (2007): 1183, DOI: 10.1001/jama.287.9.1183-JMS0306-6-1.

cadaver quotas that resulted from the evolution of the medical school curriculum. From the beginning, the marginalized and disadvantaged populations of society were the most vulnerable to body snatching. In an era brimming with racial prejudices, the black community was an easy target. While public reactions to body snatching varied, the white population was generally content as long as their graves remained immune to desecration. On the contrary, the black community lived in fear of white doctors, as well as the black men that helped them. The institution of slavery and the greater concentration of black populations in the South made it a hotspot for body snatching, a practice that continued there into the early decades of the twentieth century.

The history of body snatching in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the American South provides more than evidence that "violation of the sepulchre [was] essential to the study of anatomy." Rather, the purposeful resurrection of unguarded, and most often black, corpses, contributes to the greater assertion that blacks were vital in the advancement of medical knowledge. Of course, the role of race in medicine did not disappear when body snatching dissipated in the 1920s. Between 1932 and 1972, six hundred rural black men were the sole subjects of the Tuskegee syphilis experiment performed by the U.S. Public Health Service. As a part of the experiment, doctors and scientists allowed subjects infected with syphilis to go untreated. At least 128 men died of syphilis or related complications, causing outrage in the black community.

In 1951, the issue of race spread into another field of scientific research. It was in this year that a poor black woman from Virginia named Henrietta Lacks rushed into Johns Hopkins Hospital in search of relief from pain in her womb. During an examination, cells from her cervix were biopsied and sent to a pathology lab. The cells grew with a rapidity never seen before and it

was not long before researchers realized the potential of such readily available biological material. Unbeknownst to Lacks and without the consent of her family, Henrietta's cancerous cells would live on long after she died of cervical cancer. Today, so-called "HeLa cells" are mass-produced and shipped to laboratories across the world.[46]

Stories like these, in addition to instances of forced sterilization, radiation experimentation, and "corrective" surgeries particular to blacks suggest that any strained relationship between the medical and African-American communities that exists today is one that began developing years ago. While it is impossible to pinpoint just when such an uneasy coexistence -- one characterized by suspicion, exploitation, and fear – truly began, there is no doubt that body snatching during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had a significant impact. When historian Harriet A. Washington asserted that today's "much bewailed racial health gap is not a gap, but a chasm wider and deeper than a mass grave," she was halfway there. Such a chasm did not appear on its own. It was body snatchers that helped to dig it.[47]

[46] Breeden, "Body Snatchers in Virginia," 321; S. B. Thomas and S. C. Quinn, "The Tuskegee Syphilis Study, 1932 to 1972: implications for HIV education and programs in the black community," *American Journal of Public Health* 81 (1991):1498-1505, DOI: 10.2105/AJPH.81.11.1498; Rebecca Skloot, *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* (New York: Crown, 2010), 13-17, 34-41, 2.

[47] Harriet A. Washington, *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 189-190, 216-217, 284-285, 20.

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Paris and the History of French Cuisine

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French cuisine has undergone vast transformations in the past four centuries. One of the earliest French recipe collections, *Le Viandier* by Guillaume Tirel, has been traced back to medieval France, when French cooking was heavily influenced by Italian tastes and methods.[1] However, in the seventeenth century, French cuisine began to shift away from its foreign influences and toward cementing its own indigenous style. The emergence of a distinctly French cuisine truly began with the invention of the restaurant in Paris in the late eighteenth century. From its inception, the restaurant offered a unique glimpse into the lives of its patrons, reflecting the social mores and political trends of the time. The evolution of French cuisine mirrored the changing demands of the public from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Simultaneously, Parisian restaurants institutionalized the act of eating, thereby creating a venue for gastronomy to respond to these societal changes. An examination of the French cuisine in conjunction with the Parisian restaurant offers an intriguing glimpse into the emergence of French national identity over the past 230 years.

The first restaurant opened in 1766 on the rue Saint Honoré, in the center of Paris.[2] Mathurin Roze de Chantoiseau, "the creator of the restaurant," had realized that the expanding discourse of cuisine called for a new institution.[3] The elite, preoccupied with the pursuit of health and fascinated with elaborate ways to prepare food, largely influenced the dietary changes of the

[1] Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 23.
[2] Rebecca Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 14.
[3] Ibid., 12.

eighteenth century that played out in the restaurant scene. Throughout the 1770s, restaurants styled themselves as *maisons de santé*, or purveyors of *restaurant*, serving a restorative broth meant for those who were too frail to eat an evening meal.[4] The *Encyclopédie*, published in France between 1751 and 1772, defined *restaurant* as "a medical term; it is a remedy whose purpose is to give strength and vigor."[5] However, with the popularization of restaurants and the expansion of their clientele, these salutary broths were made to be as tasty as they were healthful. The *Encyclopédie* listed among its examples of *restaurants* not only soups, but also arugula, herbal teas, and chocolate, which have all since become staples of French cuisine.[6] In this vein, *restaurants* advanced from a remedy into a health food, ultimately becoming a food consumed by the masses.[7] Meanwhile the restaurant, its institutional counterpart, also grew and evolved from its rudiments into an establishment that was embraced and relied upon by the French public.

The restaurant was popularized due to the inadequacies of other dining venues at the time. During the *ancien régime*, *traiteurs* (innkeepers) set up *tables d'hôte*, intended as pop-up communities for local customers who did not have their own kitchens.[8] In the early eighteenth century, sojourner Joachim Nemeitz wrote of the *table d'hôte*, "[It] does not fare well at all, either because the meat is not properly cooked, or because they serve the same thing every day and rarely offer any variety."[9] The *table d'hôte* was sometimes off-putting for recently arrived strangers due to its rigid structure. There was no menu, but rather a multi-course meal with only

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[4] Spang, 2.
[5] *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.,* (Paris, 1772).
[6] Paul Metzner, *Crescendo of the Virtuoso: Spectacle, Skill, and Self-Promotion in Paris during the Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 12.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Spang, 30.
[9] Joachim C. Nemeitz, *Séjour de Paris, c'est à dire, Instructions fidèles pour les voiageurs de condition* (Leyden: 1727), 58.

a few choices; moreover, meals were only offered at certain times, causing the patrons to build their entire schedules around the hours of these establishments.[10]

Unlike the *table d'hôte*, the pre-revolutionary restaurant was a place of unprecedented hospitality. In 1777, Roze de Chantoiseau specified that restaurants should be "served not at a *table d'hôte*, but at any hour of the day, by the dish and at a fixed price."[11] The precedent of open-ended business hours was established by cafés, which served drinks well into the night; likewise, bouillon was pre-made and thereby easy to keep warm and serve at any hour in the restaurant.[12] The phenomenon of *prix fixe* immensely simplified the paying process, as patrons now knew how much their orders would cost and no longer had to bargain, as they did at the *table d'hôte*.[13] The establishment of an à la carte menu, which provided a vast array of options for the diner to choose from, promoted the changes and expansions that French cuisine would soon undertake. Finally, restaurants were much more women-friendly than their predecessors. Roze de Chantoiseau's pseudonym, "Everybody's Friend," appealed to a wide and egalitarian audience, welcoming women into restaurants, as anyone else.[14]

Although the restaurant flourished well before the French Revolution, the Revolution did in fact alter the direction and scope of the restaurant. The French Revolution undermined the institutional logic of the class-based *ancien régime* cuisine and redefined the associated role identity of the chef. These two feats were enabled by the fall of the Bastille and the abolition of the guild. The fall of the Bastille on July 14, 1789 marked the beginning of the emigration of the nobility out of Paris.[15] As reported by Louis-Sébastien Mercier, this mass emigration led to an

[10] Spang, 8.
[11] Mathurin Roze de Chantoiseau, *Supplément aux tablettes royales* (Paris, 1777), 65.
[12] Spang, 68.
[13] Ibid., 78.
[14] Ibid., 80.
[15] Metzner, 14.

increase in the supply of "the cooks of princes, of counselors to the parliament, of cardinals, of canons, and of farmers general…[who] became restaurateurs."[16] Moreover, luxury artisans whose businesses collapsed during the Revolution took up cooking, and acquired restaurant positions.[17] Two years later, in 1791, the revolutionary government did away with guilds, thereby eliminating unjust regulations on restaurants and putting in place a system of laissez-faire.[18] The collapse of the monarchy ended the partition of political, commercial and cultural life between Versailles and Paris, and Paris emerged as the true capital of France.[19]

The role of the restaurant changed drastically during the Revolution. A pamphlet in 1791 proclaimed, "We have no greater enemies than these voracious creatures who daily gulp down our money…so that we [cannot] obtain the necessities of life."[20] Restaurants were primary targets of this resentment, as were its gluttonous patrons who splurged at the expense of others' starvation. Louis XVI's notoriety as a glutton, "eating men, eating money, eating bread," became a major point of attack after the overthrow of the monarchy.[21] In satirical accounts of the royal family's flight in June 1791, Louis XVI is depicted as treating the entire affair as a *repas champêtre* – a picnic – "pausing for a snack of pigs' feet and relishing his arrest in Varennes because it gave him the chance to eat once again."[22] Although the *ancien régime* had witnessed many a *grand couvert* – a celebration in which spectators witnessed the king dining from regal

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[16] Louis-Sébastien Marcier, *The New Picture of Paris* (London: Symonds, 1800), 119.
[17] Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848-1945: Volume Two: Intellect, Taste and Anxiety* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 739.
[18] Metzner, 16.
[19] Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 86.
[20] *Grand detail de la révolte arrive hier et les jours derniers au Palais Royal occassionnée par les Marchands d'argent qui ont été chasses et assumes par le Peuple, et la punition exemplaire d'un Restaurateur qui n'a pas voulu recevoir en payement un Assignat* (Paris: Tremblay, 1791), 7.
[21] Spang, 127.
[22] Ibid., 123.

dishes – this festivity was less fashionable by the late eighteenth century.[23] Gastronomic voyeurism was no longer sufficient when an entire post-revolutionary population demanded to be fed.

Following the ninth of Thermidor, "pleasure was a universal need."[24] As pleasure became the emblem of the years 1794 to 1799, restaurants became one of the primary icons of the pleasures Paris had to offer.[25] Chefs who were formerly owned by the nobility now catered to the general public through restaurants, ushering in a new era of "aristo-democratic social order."[26] Restaurants became idealized meeting places of the post-Terror, serving as proof of the democratization of privilege; yet, they were still incredibly expensive.[27] Les Trois Frères Provençaux, where Napoleon used to dine and which all the generals of the empire came to patronize, earned as much as 15,000 francs per day.[28] Hence, in the years following the Reign of Terror, the restaurant remained a symbol of greed.

The role of restaurants was once again fundamentally altered by the emergence of gastronomy in the nineteenth century. Defined by the dictionary of the Académie Française as "the art of good eating," gastronomy allayed the concern that taste was decaying and good food was becoming rare.[29] Gastronomic literature, spearheaded by Grimod de la Reynière's *Almanach des gourmands* gave the restaurant new prominence and converted it from a space of scandal into one of celebration.[30] Through his *Almanach*, Grimod transformed Paris into the gastronomic capital, featuring gastronomic maps of Paris' finest eateries, and he created "the

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[23] Arthur Young, *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789* (Dublin: Cross, 1793), 20.
[24] A.V. Arnault, *Souvenirs d'un sexagénaire* (Paris: Dufey, 1833), 270.
[25] Spang, 139.
[26] *Paris-Restaurant* (Paris: A. Taride, 1854), 22.
[27] Marant, *Tout Paris en vaudevilles* (Paris: Barba, 1801), 166.
[28] Zeldin, 740.
[29] Spang, 150.
[30] Ibid., 151.

gourmand…someone endowed with great delicacy, [whose] health must be vigorous."[31] Gastronomic literature employed the language of post-revolutionary individualism, emphasizing the triumph of the personal over the political or the social.[32] Hence, restaurants no longer represented a political arena, but rather stood on their own as autonomous entities.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Parisian restaurants were characterized by plenitude. One English traveler and letter writer, Francis Blagdon, mused in 1803,

> "Good heaven! ... – Beef, dressed in eleven different ways. –Pastry, containing fish, flesh and fowl, in eleven shapes. Poultry and game, under thirty-two various forms. – Veal, amplified into twenty-two distinct articles. Mutton, confined to seventeen only. Fish, twenty-three varieties."[33]

The restaurant had become a symbol of Parisian urbanism, which was equated with French identity. Raw foodstuffs from all over "suppl[ied] Parisian markets with the most succulent of fare, fish, and pheasant, even the exotic pineapple."[34] The availability of such a diversity of ingredients reduced "French cuisine" to mean that which was emanating from the cornucopia that was Paris. An astonishing statistic supports the cornucopian characteristic of post-revolutionary Paris – there were fewer than 50 restaurants in Paris in 1789 but nearly 3000 by 1820.[35]

Of all the restaurant's distinctive features, the menu attracted the most attention both locally and globally. So called because it offered a small (*menu*) summary of the restaurant's offerings, the menu marked the restaurant as a space distinguished by its own lingo and

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[31] Grimod de la Reynière, *Almanach des Gourmands*, (Paris, 1803), 54.
[32] Spang, 162.
[33] Francis Blagdon, *Paris as it Was and as it Is, Illustrative of the Effects of the Revolution* (London: C. & R. Baldwin, 1803), 443.
[34] Ferguson, 44.
[35] Zeldin, 739.

discourse.[36] Although the menu employed common words in the titles of its dishes, a certain familiarity with the vocabulary of gastronomy was necessary in order to understand what something like *epigramme d'agneau* (literally, "witticism of lamb") was. The menu, with its esoteric jargon and bountiful options, represented the infinite possibilities available to the gastronomes of the nineteenth century.

Although Parisian restaurants were uniquely French, their menus drew from a multiplicity of foreign influences. Wines were almost exclusively imported from other regions. Tariff barriers between provinces made the exchange of wine between different regions difficult, and reserved almost exclusively for the upper classes; it was not until the railways were built that wine could be carried more cheaply, turning it into an industrial product.[37] However, other dishes on the Parisian menus also emphasized place of origin–veal from Pontoise and ducks from Rouen, for example. The ideas of menus and maps became interlinked, represented by the unifying French term, *la carte*. Menus were both a map of the world, conveniently offering an array of internationally influenced dishes, as well as a blueprint of Paris at the time, whose thousands of restaurants carried mostly analogous menu items.

The Parisian restaurant, the bastion of French cuisine, became a symbol of French identity due to its gastronomic textualization.[38] Literacy facilitated the documentation and codification of the cuisine, whose cookbooks and textbooks served as the restaurant's Bible. The establishment of the menu documented yet another aspect of this increasingly textualized tradition, presenting the myriad combinations that were possible given a finite number of ingredients. Although the restaurant originated in Paris, the increasing accessibility of restaurants

[36] Spang, 184.
[37] Zeldin, 756.
[38] Ferguson, 34.

to all French people expanded the sense of gastronomy as part of a national inheritance, making restaurants a "great boon to all citizens."[39] As one inventory put it,

> "Today, there are restaurateurs for all classes of society: princes, dukes, marquises, barons, generals, deputies, men of letters, judges, lawyers, bankers, stock-jobbers, gamblers, employees, merchants, students, and even for poor retirees; from the dinner for a 40-franc gold piece to the one for the modest sum of 1 franc 50 centimes."[40]

Embracing revolutionary ideals, restaurants became a supremely democratic institution with nationalistic associations.

The democracy of restaurants was not a given, but rather a product of serendipity. While the repressive regimes of the Restoration and the July Monarchy outlawed nearly every other form of meeting, this did not apply to the restaurant. The reasons for this have been highly contested, but the role of the restaurant as a semi-private haven for epicureans presents a compelling case. Private rooms for small groups had characterized restaurants since before the Revolution, and only grew in popularity during the following century. *Cabinets particuliers*, private dining rooms, were one of the most distinctive features of the restaurant.[41] The apolitical nature of restaurants in the nineteenth century suggested they were not a threat to the regimes. This stroke of luck allowed for the uninterrupted proliferation of gastronomic equality. Since every customer was presented with the same menu and options in the restaurant, social distinctions collapsed and a new promise of gustatory universals reigned supreme.[42]

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[39] Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *La Physiologie du Goût* (Paris, 1825) 278-279.
[40] Antoine Caillot, *Mémoires pour server à l'histoire des moeurs et usages des français* (Paris: Dauvin, 1827), 357.
[41] Spang, 208.
[42] Ibid., 233.

The golden age of gastronomy would have been impossible without its brilliant team of inventors. One of the most prominent chefs during this time was Marie Antonin Carême (1784-1833). Abandoned by his parents in Paris at the height of the Revolution, Carême worked as a kitchen boy at a cheap Parisian chophouse in exchange for room and board.[43] At the age of fifteen, Carême began to work at a restaurant and two years later, he moved again, this time to Bailly's patisserie on the rue Vivienne in Paris.[44] As the *premier tourtier* (first piemaker) at Bailly's, Carême transformed his cooking into an outlet for innovative constructions. In his post at Bailly's, Carême constructed *pièces montées*, extravagantly architected assemblies of pastry and sugar.[45] These productions were served at *extraordinaires* – high society balls and state banquets–allowing Carême to gain recognition among the elites.[46] In 1823, Carême started working for Baron James Mayer de Rothschild, the most powerful banker in France at the time. In this position, Carême was able to spend as much money as he wished, enabling him to make numerous changes in the methods of preparing food.[47] He reduced the use of herbs and spices, limited the mixture of different types of food, and transformed the decoration of food into ostentatious displays.[48] Carême's innovations in food created the vision of French cooking as both an art and a science.[49]

Despite Carême's invaluable contributions to the *haute cuisine*, he was also instrumental in the democratization of modern French cuisine. He redefined humble dishes such as the *pot-au-*

[43] Ferguson, 56.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: eating and taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the present, 2nd ed*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 145.
[46] Metzner, 14.
[47] Zeldin, 732.
[48] Ibid., 733.
[49] Hayagreeva Rao, Philippe Monin and Rodolphe Durand, "Institutional Change in Toque Ville: Nouvelle Cuisine as an Identity Movement in French Gastronomy," *American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 4 (January 2003): 799.

feu, a French soup of boiled beef and vegetables, as the essence of modern French cuisine.[50] The *pot-au-feu* represented the most substantial nourishment that the *ouvriers* historically received; therefore, its elevation into a national dish captured Carême's attempt to expand French cuisine into a more national legacy.[51] Moreover, the literature that Carême produced sought to reach beyond the elite consumers who feasted at the great dinners that he prepared; instead it extended to the readers who hungered after knowledge of gastronomy.

Inevitably, Carême's legacy was realized as revolutionary in the restaurant industry. Well into the nineteenth century, although many restaurants stuck to their origins as purveyors of bouillon, most restaurants had branched out and expanded their menus.[52] In many ways, Carême's innovations in dining were an embrace of the Second Empire, "when life was easy and the future assured."[53] Carême was lucky enough to live in a time and place where his creativity was encouraged and supported. However, standards would once again change with the dawning of the Third Republic, in which the pace of life was more hurried and people demanded rapid service.

The novelty of Carême-era gastronomy can be better understood in contrast with the peasant diet at the time. Peasant cooking conformed to the medieval school of thought, which had proliferated in Paris before the *ancien régime*, but had been replaced by the regal *haute cuisine* in the nineteenth century. This precursory cooking style called for the mixture of various ingredients without attention to quantities, and demanded the liberal addition of spices in dishes. A comparative recipe for cabbage soup illustrates how profoundly different the cuisine of the peasant was from that of the Parisian gastronomes. In the peasant version of the recipe, provided

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ferguson, 60.
[52] Spang, 65.
[53] Zeldin, 735.

by Madame Michaux, a cabbage is boiled with a leek and a clove of garlic, and a drop of butter is included at the end. Salt is used sparingly, because salt was taxed under the *ancien régime* and peasants had grown accustomed to the minimization of salt.[54] However, in the Parisian version of this recipe, taken from Alexandre Viard's recipe in *Le Cuisinier imperial*, two cabbages are boiled, dried, and allowed to cook over slices of veal covered with bacon fat, together with carrots, onions, and mushrooms.[55] Parisian gastronomy and peasant cooking were at opposite ends of the spectrum; although both had recipes for the "same" dishes, such as cabbage soup, the differences in composition and preparation rendered each dish entirely distinct from the other.

George-Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935) adapted Parisian gastronomy to suit the shifting demands of the Third Republic. Discarding materials that Carême had used to make dishes into artistic constructions, Escoffier did away with complicated garnishings. By simplifying French cookery, Escoffier increased the savor and nutritional value of the food he served. In many ways, Escoffier's advances in the kitchen returned to an earlier, simpler way of eating: making food lighter and more "easily digestible by weakened stomachs."[56] Although restaurants had long been more than just houses of health, Escoffier's simplifications re-invoked the salutary capacity of French cuisine.

The effects of the Industrial Revolution were also increasingly seen in Parisian restaurants during the mid-nineteenth century. The introduction of gas into the kitchen expedited cooking and permitted more people to be served faster.[57] As an offshoot of the Industrial Revolution, Escoffier pushed French cooking into a more scientific, or Taylorized, realm. He summarized his views as follows: "Cookery whilst continuing to be an art will become scientific

[54] Ibid., 726.
[55] Alexandre Viard, *Le Cuisinier Impérial* (Paris: J.-N. Barba, 1806), 76.
[56] Zeldin, 735.
[57] Ibid., 738.

and will have to submit its formulas which very often are still too empirical, to a method and precision which leaves nothing to chance."[58] As such, Escoffier's recipes were characterized by unprecedented accuracy, providing the exact measurements of every ingredient.[59]

In modernizing *haute cuisine*, Escoffier established *cuisine classique*, characterized by its tailoring of the early works of Carême. Escoffier wrote in *Le Guide Culinaire* that:

> the light and frivolous atmosphere of the restaurants; was, in fact, ill-suited to the brisk waiters, and their customers who only had eyes for each other…it is a mere hindrance to the modern, rapid service. The complicated and sometimes heavy menus would be unwelcome to the hypercritical appetites so common nowadays; hence the need of a radical change not only in the culinary preparations themselves, but in the arrangements of the menus, and the service.[60]

Because Escoffier believed that a new way of eating demanded a comprehensive overhaul of the previous system, he replaced *service à la française*, in which all the dishes were served at once, with *service à la russe*, in which food was served in courses.[61] This ensured that food would not get cold, guaranteed equitable distribution, and was cheaper because it sought to satisfy rather than to dazzle.[62] Carême had been very resistant to adopting *service à la russe*, despite its introduction by the Russians during the occupation of Paris in 1814.[63] He had felt loyal to the French tradition, which supported his ostentatious productions, while the Russian tradition was more suitable for Escoffier's simplifications and refinements.

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[58] Georges-Auguste Escoffier, *Le Guide Culinaire*, (Paris: Editions Flammarion, 1903), xii
[59] Zeldin, 735.
[60] Escoffier, xii.
[61] Metzner, 12.
[62] Zeldin, 734-735.
[63] Metzner, 12.

Escoffier's innovations were practiced in the grand restaurants and hotels of Europe, notably the ones run by César Ritz.[64] The Hôtel Ritz, located at 15 Place Vendôme, was built in 1898 – a collaboration between Ritz and Escoffier, in an attempt to wed the opulence of hotels with the lavishness of the emergent cuisine and restaurant, "d'en faire un hotel qui serait le summum de l'élégance."[65] The sheer magnitude of these venues called for a new approach to food preparation. In the kitchens, culinary labor was divided into five stations, thus facilitating efficiency.[66] These five "parties" made up the brigade system in which the *garde manger* prepared cold dishes; the *entremettier* prepared starches and vegetables, the *rôtisseur* prepared roasts, grilled, and fried dishes, the *saucier* prepared sauces and soups, and the *pâtissier* prepared all pastry and dessert items.[67] Whereas previous orders for "deux oeufs sur le plat Meyerbeer" would take a cook fifteen minutes to prepare, now the *entremettier* cooked the eggs, the *rôtisseur* grilled the kidney, and the *saucier* prepared the truffle sauce. The entire process requiring just a few minutes of preparation.[68]

Escoffier's *cuisine classique* completely redefined the role identity of the chef. While chefs had previously gotten jobs through business and family ties in the Paris food and drink trades, culinary arts were now institutionalized.[69] Le Cordon Bleu, which came to be known as one of the most elite cooking schools, was founded in Paris in 1895, offering courses in the *haute cuisine* tradition.[70] In 1950, 40 chefs trained in *haute cuisine* established the Association des

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[64] Rao et al., 800.
[65] Robert Courtine, *La Vie Parisienne: Cafés et Restaurants des Boulevards, 1814-1914* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1984), 315.
[66] Ferguson, 157.
[67] Mennell, 159.
[68] Zeldin, 736.
[69] Spang, 25.
[70] Rao et al., 801.

Maîtres Queux to certify *haute cuisine* master chefs.[71] No longer was the role of the chef confined to the nepotism of the kitchens; it was now legitimated on an institutional level.

It is illustrative, at this point, to reflect on the English metalanguage used to describe the emergence of French cuisine. While *cooking* is of Germanic origin, attested in Old English as early as the year 1000, *cuisine* is first used productively in the late 1700s and increasingly in the mid-1800s.[7273] Whereas *cooking* supplies a basic template for the material transformation of food into a culinary product, *cuisine* codifies that practice.[74] In this sense, *cuisine* represents the intellectual and cultural dimensions of cooking, for which the French gastronomic tradition is known. Another definitive distinction between *cooking* and *cuisine* is each term's relationship to space. While *cooking* is confined to the kitchen and the dining room, *cuisine* is liberated into a broader cultural space, and can happen anywhere.[75] The shift from *cooking* to *cuisine* in French culture is most notably realized through the nineteenth century restaurant, which conquered space to bring cooking outside of the home kitchen.

The gastronomic conquest of space continued well into the twentieth century with the advent of automobile tourism. The automobile connected Paris to the rest of France, enabling gastronomic tours and inspiring interest in regional specialties.[76] After World War I, the Touring Club de France, an organization promoting national tourism by fostering local gastronomy, bemoaned the "exotic, foreign" cuisine in Paris and called for a "return" to regional French food.[77] Interwar gastronomes like Curnonsky and Marcel Rouff focused on the interplay between

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[71] Ibid., 802.
[72] *Oxford English Dictionary*, OED Online, September 2014, s.v. "cooking."
[73] *Oxford English Dictionary*, OED Online, September 2014, s.v. "cuisine."
[74] Ferguson, 20.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Stephen L. Harp, *Marketing Michelin: Advertising & Cultural Identity in Twentieth-Century France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 238.
[77] A. Liégard, "Le tourisme et la cuisine," *Revue mensuelle du Touring Club* (July 1919): 168.

Parisian *haute cuisine* and regional cuisine in defining the superiority of French food and drink.[78] In 1923, the Michelin Guide changed from its origins as a manual for motorists to include a ranking of restaurants in provincial France.[79] Only in 1933, after provincial establishments had been rated, did Michelin subject Parisian institutions to the star system, revealing the extent to which the guide was intended for Parisian consumers who desired a culinary excursion from their capital.[80] Nonetheless, the hierarchy of gastronomy remained dominated by Paris, where in 1939, six of the fourteen three-star restaurants in France could be found.[81]

Along with the advent of tourist literature came the explosion of gastronomic publications in all languages. Both Carême and Escoffier retained most of the French names of dishes because they felt Anglicization was unnecessary.[82] The universalization of these French food-related terms is most readily captured in graph form, relating the relative frequency of the words "cuisine" and "restaurant" from 1800 to 2000 in English language texts (see Appendix). The Google Ngram Viewer charts the number of instances of the terms in Google Books' entire inventory. The graph reveals that although the words entered the English lexicon during the second half of the nineteenth century, they gained momentum in the twentieth century. The preservation of these French terms in the contemporary discourse of food culture reveals the global impact of the French tradition.

The exponential growth in usage of the terms "restaurant" and "cuisine" coincides with the appearance of a new culinary tradition during the latter half of the twentieth century (see Appendix). The *nouvelle cuisine* emerged in the 1960s as a counter-movement to Escoffier's *cuisine classique*, paralleling the myriad social changes that characterized the second half of the

[78] Harp, 244.
[79] Ibid., 247.
[80] Ibid., 248.
[81] Ibid., 250.
[82] Ferguson, 72.

twentieth century. One of the biggest stimuli of the *nouvelle cuisine* was a student *grève* at the Sorbonne. On May 6, 1968, police on the boulevard Saint-Germain attacked these students, who were protesting the punishment meted out to students at Nanterre for their opposition to the Vietnam War.[83] After many of the students were arrested, more students mobilized, calling for a society that valued personal autonomy and eliminated the distinctions between order-givers and order-takers.[84] During this decade, a number of other anti-schools emerged in the literary, theater, film, and culinary worlds; they all shared similar conceptual principles, desiring increased autonomy in their fields.[85]

The *nouvelle cuisine* movement echoed this sentiment, seeking to enhance the chef's professional control of the restaurant. Under *cuisine classique*, chefs had the freedom to establish their own restaurants and design their own menus, as long as these "freedoms" conformed to Escoffier's *Le Guide Culinaire*. Chefs were not allowed to invent dishes, as they were merely expected to translate the intentions and prescriptions of Escoffier. In an attempt to correct these injustices, a group of culinary activists established the *nouvelle cuisine*, which relied on the rules of transgression and acclimatization in order to achieve gastro-political ends.[86] Transgression entailed mixing and matching cooking techniques and ingredients – for example, one could use old cooking techniques with new ingredients, or old cooking techniques with old ingredients in unconventional ways.[87] Mixing meat and fish, preparing salads containing vegetables and foie gras, and preparing pot-au-feu with fish were all examples of transgression.[88] Acclimatization

[83] Rao et al., 803.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Bénédict Beaugé, *Aventures de la cuisine française, cinquante ans d'histoire du goût* (Paris: Nil Editions, 1999), 13.
[86] Claude Fischler, "La Cuisine Selon Michelin," in *Autrement* 108 *Nourritures,* ed. Louis René Piault Fabrice, (Paris, 1989), 48.
[87] Rao et al., 806.
[88] Ibid.

entailed importing exotic traditions, such as seasoning and spices. In essence, the object of nouvelle cuisine was not "the metamorphosis of the food product, but the revelation of its essential truth."[89]

In many ways, while the *nouvelle cuisine* responded to social changes of its time, it also harkened back to a simpler time in French culinary history. Quite literally, the term *nouvelle cuisine* was taken from a 1742 manifesto entitled *La Nouvelle cuisine*, which began with two recipes for *restaurant*. The *nouvelle cuisine* of the eighteenth century, like that of the twentieth century, combined forward-looking science with conservatism.[90] *Nouvelle cuisine* was at the heart of attempts to define an enlightened lifestyle, realized through more delicate and refined cookery. In his article "Cuisine," the eighteenth century physician Louis de Jaucourt defended *nouvelle cuisine*, believing that cookery must remain in the realm of need, and not in that of the arts and sciences.[91] Although de Jaucourt's declaration did not stop *haute cuisine* and *cuisine classique* from proliferating, his ideas of healthy simplicity returned with the reemergence of *nouvelle cuisine* in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Almost all of the characteristics of the new *nouvelle cuisine* either alluded to or directly invoked a more health-conscious approach to dining. By adopting a lighter and fresher method of food preparation, the *nouvelle cuisine* inaugurated a new type of *maison de santé*, satisfying the twentieth century's health agenda. In an ode to the simplicity of the peasant cuisine, the *nouvelle cuisine* regressed toward a more regional-inspired mode of eating, in place of the institutionalized *haute cuisine*, which appealed to high culture. In addition, the political atmosphere of the twentieth century, full of protests and activism, allowed for the unprecedented growth of autonomy for the cooks. Whereas legislation in the nineteenth century had prevented

[89] Fischler, 48.
[90] Spang, 41.
[91] *Encyclopédie*, art. "Cuisine."

restaurateur Boulanger from selling anything but *restaurant* when he had tried to sell *ragout*, restaurants of the twentieth century had no such limitations.[92] In this sense, *nouvelle cuisine* flourished in an age where political freedoms enabled and promoted freedom and creativity in the kitchen.

Throughout French culinary history, there runs a theme of moving forward while staying anchored in the past. Precedents established by the *nouvelle cuisine* of the eighteenth century remained in the psyches of chefs for the following 200 years; however, due to political, social, and technological advances, the standards of French cuisine changed throughout time. Jean-Paul Jeunet, *nouvelle cuisine* chef of the Restaurant de Paris, believes:

> On [the] one hand, I am guided by my inspiration towards more simplicity, lightening, stripping all the unnecessary ornamentations. I am confronted with my own personal desire to go ahead, while keeping my personality, my natural instincts that tell me to thrive towards a simplified, more original, creative cuisine. But on the other hand, I consider the reassuring and comfortable side of a traditional cuisine that will rally more people. . . . We [younger chefs who take over after our parents] are all facing this difficulty of managing the coexistence of two kinds. Now my leitmotiv is the individualization of dishes according to one's personality.[93]

Jeunet struggles with a common theme: reconciling tradition with the future. His solution is to rely on his own personality as a guide for his cooking. The "self" is an organic representation of the past in the face of the future, and is therefore a reliable source of creative and authentic

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[92] Spang, 9.

[93] Jean-Pierre Jeunet interview with Philippe Monin, March 9, 2001. In Hayagreeva Rao, Philippe Monin and Rodolphe Durand, "Institutional Change in Toque Ville: Nouvelle Cuisine as an Identity Movement in French Gastronomy," *American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 4 (January 2003): 809.

inspiration. Expressing similar sentiments to those of Jeunet, chef Bernard Collon of the *nouvelle cuisine* restaurant Auberge de Letraz, adds:

> I do not like the caricatured classification between classical and nouvelle cuisine. I categorize myself in the "Classics," but…I use fresh products. I have learned a classical basis, I know the Escoffier by heart, and by the way I have taught the Escoffier Cuisine in Japan. It is a bit like music, one cannot be a musician without knowing the rudiments of music.[94]

The *nouvelle cuisine* acknowledges the value of its predecessors; after all, its existence is predicated on that of the *haute cuisine* and the *cuisine classique*. More importantly, *nouvelle cuisine* is not completely repudiated; rather, it takes the worthwhile elements of its forerunners and places more autonomy in the role of the chef.[95] Despite irreconcilability between one period of French cuisine to another, every period is linked and is made possible by its antecedents.

French cuisine has changed dramatically in the past three centuries, though there have been continuities from one epoch to the next. Starting with the *nouvelle cuisine* of the eighteenth century, well-being was at the forefront of the French psyche. This obsession with health inaugurated the era of the restaurant, starting in Paris, and then spread throughout Europe and the rest of the world. During the last decade of the eighteenth century, restaurants became a luxury and a symbol of greed, highlighting the stark differences in class that emerged from the French Revolution. Restaurants experienced resurgence in the nineteenth century with the advent of gastronomy and the foundation of the *haute cuisine*. Amidst a lull of political activity, the restaurant became an arena for democratic existence, welcoming women as well as the poor. The

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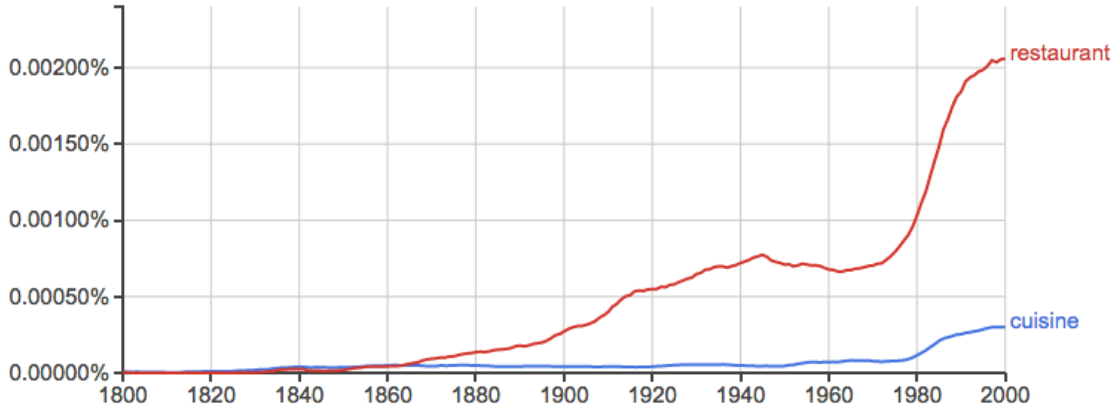
[94] Bernard Collon interview with Philippe Monin, February 20, 2001. In Hayagreeva Rao, Philippe Monin and Rodolphe Durand, "Institutional Change in Toque Ville: Nouvelle Cuisine as an Identity Movement in French Gastronomy," *American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 4 (January 2003): 810.
[95] Rao, et al., 810.

nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries marked a period of relative prosperity in which the modest restaurant endured. Meanwhile, a new realm of restaurants emerged–those embedded in luxury hotels. Establishments such as The Hôtel Ritz complemented *haute cuisine* by launching a new lavish venue for the restaurant. However, the rigidness of *haute cuisine*, which strictly adhered to Escoffier's *Le Guide Culinaire*, provoked a backlash. *Nouvelle cuisine 2.0* emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century, appealing for increased autonomy in the role of the chef. Nonetheless, throughout the evolution of French cuisine, one constant remained: the embracing of modern innovations while staying rooted in tradition. In the age of modernity, Paris and French cuisine constantly struggle with maintaining this balance between past and future. The successful attainment of this balance is perhaps another reason why French cuisine has become a symbol of national identity; grounded in its rich cultural history, French cuisine continues to change and explore new grounds. Paris remains a gastronomic capital to this day, home to over 9,000 restaurants. As the twenty-first century continues to unfold, despite the arrival of McDonald's and Starbucks, Paris will no doubt stay true to its base as a gastronomic nucleus of the world.

Appendix



Google Ngram's graph of the relative frequency of the terms *restaurant* and *cuisine* in English language books between 1800 and 2000

https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=cuisine%2Crestaurant&year_start=1800&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Ccuisine%3B%2Cc0%3B.t1%3B%2Crestaurant%3B%2Cc0[96]

[96] If you would like to check the frequency of these and other French words in a corpus of English books, here is a link to Google's NGram feature: https://books.google.com/ngrams
And if you would like an abbreviated link to the chart generated above, here is a link: http://tinyurl.com/restaurant-cuisine

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The Wrong Man

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In 1969, author Donald Downes sat at his typewriter and wrote the first line of a story he would never finish: "This is the tale of how a German general died at dawn." He had been researching the tale for several months, and in the process uncovering a story of espionage, betrayal, and the countless small mistakes that lead to a final, grisly conclusion. Downes continued to type: "On the eighth of October in '45, for the first time in all recorded history, an enemy general went on trial before the American armed forces, for commission of a War Crime." He went on to write a few more pages, first sketching out the character of condemned Lieutenant General Anton Dostler, then the mission, capture, and execution of fifteen American commandos by German forces in Italy, and finally the drama of the trial, before giving up on the project altogether.[1]

It's not clear why he stopped writing. Perhaps the story was too personal for him—after all, he had been friendly with the murdered American lieutenant in charge of the clandestine sabotage missions. Or perhaps he was too uncomfortable with how close he had come to suffering the same fate—he was primarily a fiction writer in the 1960s, but during the war he had been the first head in Italy of the OSS, a precursor agency to the CIA, and only left just before the men who would participate in the so-called Ginny Missions arrived in the country. Or maybe he felt too close to the action—he had been in the audience the day Dostler was condemned to

[1] Donald Downs, Unfinished manuscript, Undated, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

die at his 1945 trial in Rome.[2] Whatever the reason, soon after he started writing it, Downes stored the draft and all the documents he had used as evidence. After his death, the same box of papers languished in the university archives of his *alma mater,* and the revelation that he had come to believe never came out: Anton Dostler, the first man to be convicted of a war crime by the American military, never ordered the execution of fifteen American soldiers. They had killed the wrong man.

* * *

Downes's story begins on the evening of March 22, 1944, when First Lieutenant Vincent Russo and fourteen of his men set off in two U.S. Navy patrol boats from Bastia, a port city on the French island of Corsica, towards the small town of Framura, on the Western coast of Italy. Russo must have felt pride that night as he looked out over his men, bunched together as they were against the wind and bundled in Army-issued sweaters and jackets turned inside out to cut the shine.[3] He believed in the mission and he believed in his men. The group was made up entirely of Italian-Americans, handpicked so they would be able to blend in more easily with the locals.[4] They had been through together already—first the weeks of training, then the failed first attempt at the mission, and finally the month of waiting for the a new moon to give them cover as they attempted to penetrate enemy territory.[5]

The objective for the mission was clear: plant enough explosives in the railway tunnel near La Spezia to destroy the line and cut off all supply routes to the German forces in central Italy. By this point, the Allies had been carrying out airstrikes along those same tracks for

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[2] Donald Downs, Draft of Letter to Colonel Wolfe, 5 November 1969, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[3] Raiber, *Anatomy of Perjury*, 101-102.
[4] Kent Emery, Letter to Donald Downes, 19 November 1969, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[5] Raiber, *Anatomy of Perjury*, 102.

months, yet had disappointing results. If Russo and his men could just get the explosives in the right place, it would be a serious hit to German operations and would free up Allied airplanes to pursue other objectives.[6]

Almost immediately, however, the plan went awry. The men were dropped off several miles from their target, and a convoy of German torpedo boats chased their getaway vessels northwards and out of range of communication. Alone, with no means of escape and hours away from the railway tunnel, Russo ordered his men to hide the dynamite and the rafts in which they had floated to shore as best they could in the brush and follow him to find shelter for the day.[7]

The next day, as the men hid in a farmer's barn, a local boy who knew of their presence saw a fisherman and some known Fascists over by the rafts. He tried to warn the Americans of the impending trouble, but it was too late. Russo and his men were taken completely by surprise by three German soldiers and a handful of Italian Fascists, and after a brief skirmish that caused almost no injuries, they raised their hands in defeat.[8]

A surrender of such scale was unprecedented in this region during the war, and the news spread quickly among their captors. Once back at the German base, the Americans were quickly separated and subjected to questioning. While the Germans led the interrogations, the Italian Fascists tried to humiliate the men by referencing their shared heritage. The commissioner at the site, a man named Guglielmini, asked Russo, "Aren't you, the son of Italians, ashamed to fight against your brothers?"[9] Russo did not respond to him. To the Italians, this was an acknowledgement of his embarrassment and guilt.[10] But to Russo, this was likely an act of quiet defiance. Despite the errors that had brought them there, Russo was a good, loyal officer, and

[6] Ibid, 99.
[7] Ibid, 103.
[8] Ibid 116. The testimony of Franco Lagaxo.
[9] Raiber, *Anatomy of Perjury*, 116. The testimony of Vincenzo di Pietro Bertini.
[10] Ibid. The testimony of Commissioner Guglielmini.

passionate about the cause they were defending. He had even named the missions they were on after his own wife Virginia, or "Ginny" for short.[11] "You work for hate or love," Downes once recalled about his fellow OSS agents, "There are people that love their countries so much that they'll work for it and do dirty jobs—they're usually sentimental little squirts that aren't very good. What you want is someone who hates your enemy. Hate is the strongest."[12]

When they had surrendered, Russo and his men probably believed that they would be taken in as POWs and protected until the end of the war, but the Germans were less sure. In the months prior, in direct violation of the Geneva Convention, Adolf Hitler had issued a *fuhrerbefehl*, or "immediate lawful order," calling for the summary execution of anyone caught behind enemy lines and considered a commando.[13] As soon as the news of the American captives came in, German officers rushed to compare what they knew of the Americans to the criteria laid out in the *fuhrerbefehl*. After some debate, the decision came down from Lieutenant General Dostler's offices: execute the prisoners.

The opposition among the German ranks to this choice was immediate, especially from those outside of the direct chain of army command. Men like Captain George Sessler, a member of the Navy Intelligence Corps, thought that the captives should be considered traditional POWs and worried about his own fate in the event of American reprisals.[14] At first, Sessler and his allies tried bringing their concerns to the team supervising the Americans, but as the hour of the execution drew nearer, their attempts at securing a stay grew more frantic. Finally, in the middle

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[11] Kent Emery, Letter to Donald Downes, 23 September 1969, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[12] Donald Downs, Unpublished interview, Undated, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[13] Kent Emery, Letter to Donald Downes, 19 November 1969. Donald Downes (MS 1453). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[14] Donald Downs, Annotated transcript of Anton Dostler's hearing proceedings, Undated, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

of the night, several German soldiers sent off a hastily written plea for mercy to superior headquarters and waited. An hour passed, and then another. Mid-morning, hours after the execution was originally supposed to go forward, Anton Dostler heeded the request, withdrew his order, and temporarily spared the Americans' lives.[15]

The execution was postponed only temporarily, but the resistance continued. At one point, Sessler became so concerned with the fate of the Americans that he "accidentally " knocked his gun to the ground as he left the interrogation room, letting it land near the feet of one of the captives.[16] Meanwhile, the German resisters continued to telephone anyone that they could think of who might be able to permanently prevent Dostler from re-authorizing the execution. Calls went out to Dostler himself, his immediate superior Gustav-Adolf Von Zangen, and above him, Field Marshal Albert von Kesselring. The connection during the phone calls was terrible, and the operator had to repeat what each man said to one another in order for anyone to be understood. To make matters worse, they were attempting to speak in "camouflage," or a sort of half-code language.[17]

This flurry of phone calls caused a lot of confusion, and during the trial, almost everyone present told a different version of events. Some believed that Dostler had his chief of staff immediately phone Zangen—Zangen later denied this. Others maintained that Zangen was out of his command post, and the call went through to Kesselring instead—Kesselring also denied this. Still others said that Dostler reauthorized the execution on his own in accordance with his understanding of the *fuhrerbefehl*. These were crucial distinctions. If Dostler had authorized the order unilaterally, as the prosecution would later claim, he would be considered a war criminal.

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[15] Raiber, *Anatomy of Perjury*, 131.
[16] Ibid,, 116. The testimony of George Sessler.
[17] Ibid, 131.

If he had merely passed on the orders of someone higher up on the command chain, he would have been considered innocent of any charges.[18]

The question of who Dostler called, if anyone, is in some sense the most important question of the whole affair. While it is true that at a minimum Dostler did nothing to stop the execution, many other men shared that guilt. The same issue that plagued later war crimes trials was troublesome in this—why implicate Dostler and not the colonel in charge of the interrogations or the lieutenant in charge of the firing squad or any of the enlisted men that actually fired the guns that killed the Americans? The prosecution's case rested on Dostler being the highest-ranking officer to condone the decision, or in other words, the party that was the "immediate cause of the execution." But determining that point rested on correctly interpreting a telegram that Dostler sent the day after he withdrew his original execution order. It read simply: "The execution will proceed." Was that a restatement of the wishes of Zangen or Kesselring, sought out by a careful and thorough Dostler, or was it Dostler's own words and a reauthorization of an illegal command?[19]

The story Downes attempted to write in 1969 hinged on this question, but perhaps he gave up on the project because that question seemed to miss the point entirely. Regardless of whom it was that in the end sent the final order for the execution, at around dawn on the morning of March 26, 1944, fifteen Americans climbed down from two German military trucks. They walked, arms tied and eyes blindfolded, to the edge of the ocean and faced the cliff. As the

[18] Donald Downs, Annotated transcript of Anton Dostler's hearing proceedings, Undated, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[19] Ibid.

bullets hit their bodies, the German lieutenant in charge of the executions fled the scene in guilt and despair, their blood soaked into the wet sand of the beach.[20]

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After the war ended and the horrors of the Holocaust became public, questions lingered that seemed to demand answers. How could this have happened? Who was responsible? How could they be held accountable? The Allied governments' response was to hold war crimes trials. The most famous of these happened at Nuremberg, but they were not the only ones. In fact, the first victims formally vindicated in the war were not Holocaust victims, but the 15 men of the Ginny Missions.

There were a variety of reasons to pursue a case against Kesselring instead of Dostler. Various German clerks were willing to testify that Kesselring had known about the planned execution despite his statements otherwise. For Dostler to call his superior in the face of any doubt was entirely consistent with the cautious reputation he had acquired during his thirty-year career in the German military. Most damning of all for Kesselring was the fact that fifteen days after the execution went forward, Kesselring ordered all documents relating to the case destroyed without notifying Dostler of his decision.[21] But the Americans didn't have Kesselring in their custody—they had Dostler—and the British refused to hand him over, saying only, "Kesselring is not available…and the trial cannot be delayed."[22]

One of Dostler's American lawyers, Kent Emery, wrote to Downes over 20 years after the trial concluded to report his concerns about the way in which the case was handled from the very beginning. "This trial, as you know, was the first of the criminal of war trials. Plans for the

[20] Raiber, *Anatomy of Perjury*, 11. The testimony of Willhelm Knell, a member of Lieutenant Bolze's 1st Company, Fortress Battallion 905.
[21] Downes, transcript of Anton Dostler's hearing proceedings.
[22] Emery, Letter to Donald Downes, 23 September 1969.

Nuremberg trials were underway. A number of observers from Nuremberg were following the proceedings as a sort of 'dry run.'" When asked by his client, Dostler, about the fairness of the hearing, Emery said he struggled to find an answer. "You will know this was a difficult question," he wrote to Downes.[23]

The fairness of the hearing came into question is other ways, too. Emery maintains that his co-counsel for the defense, Judge Advocate for the Mediterranean Colonel Claudius Wolfe, showed shocking indifference to the entire case until the potential for significant media attention convinced him otherwise. When the assignment was first given out, Wolfe told Emery, "You will try the case and I will just sit in with you." When Emery pushed for in-person meetings leading up to the trial date, Wolfe came into town primarily for social reasons, one time devoting only about "fifteen minutes" to meeting with Emery during his entire trip. Emery told Downes, "we had been seated at the counsel table for some period of time and he turned to me and said, 'I will take an active part in the defense' and then requested me to brief him. My recollection is that this was approximately fifteen minutes before the trial commenced. Of course it was utterly impossible to give him a proper understanding of the defense at that point."[24] For his part, when asked later about the quality of the defense, Wolfe maintained, "I did only my duty as a lawyer should do."[25]

Emery was hardly blameless himself, however. In his letter to Downes long after the war, he included this startling admission: "Mr. Downes, there was another available defense which was not touched upon…the rules of land warfare were violated by the 'Ginny Mission' in that the officers and men wore no military identification. Troops who are not identified are not

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Claudius Wolfe, Letter to Donald Downes, 6 December 1969, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

entitled to the protection of prisoners under international law." He went on to argue that although the men were wearing Army-issued clothing, it did not rise to the level of "military identification," because the Americans had been giving Italian partisans the same clothing for months. Taken aback by this admission, Downes replied to see if he had been encouraged to suppress that evidence in any way in order to obscure the true nature of the OSS as a developing spy agency. But "rightly or wrongly," Emery wrote, "this was my decision," one he felt necessary in order to preserve national security.[26]

Downes was hardly a Nazi-sympathizer—far from it, in fact. In a letter to a member of prosecution team Major Frederick Roche, he claimed, "I have always been even more than an anti-Nazi, [I] am anti-German."[27] But Downes was above all a fair man, and despite all the reasons he had to be repelled from it, he followed the case for only one reason: as he wrote, "I am convinced that the wrong German general was shot."[28] Until he died, he eyed Kesselring for the crime, and it ate at him. Once after the war Downes heard him speak to a room full of German ex-officers in Hamburg, and Kesselring joked, "You have the honor to be addressed tonight by the greatest war criminal in history, ha, ha, ha."[29] Even those that defended the verdict, like Roche, had doubts. He once confessed to Emery over coffee, "I just hope we never lose a war."[30]

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[26] Emery, Letter to Donald Downes, 23 September 1969.
[27] Donald Downes, Draft of letter to Frederick Roche, September 1969, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[28] Donald, Downes, Draft of Letter to Claudius Wolfe, 5 November 1969, Donald Downes (MS 1453), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[29] Donald Downes, Draft of Letter to David Buliz, September 1969, Donald Downes (MS 1453),Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
[30] Emery, Letter to Donald Downes, 19 November 1969.

In 1969, Downes fed a final sheet of paper into his typewriter and began to write. "So here, while the rising sun casts the long shadows of the waiting firing squad across the wintry plain at Aversa, the last rites of the Church are administered by an American chaplain and a German chaplain, and a target is pinned over the heart of the hooded figure tied to the post. Then a volley chops him down and almost the post along with him, and fellow-soldiers of the year-and-a-half-dead fifteen of the Ginny mission pull a new, clean Government Issue mattress cover over the body of Anton Dostler, late Lieutenant General in the Armies of the Late Third German Reich."[31] As Downes walked away from the project, the words of Dostler's defense council still rang in his ears: "If we don't do our duty, that is, if we simply find a man guilty because of political pressure or because he lost the war or he is in our power and we can do what we want to do with him—we might as well not have won the war."[32]

[31] Downes, Unfinished manuscript.
[32] Downes, transcript of Anton Dostler's hearing proceedings.

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The Roads They Had Taken: Polish Jewish Refugees in the Soviet Union During World War II

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When asked to conjure the image of a "Holocaust survivor" in one's mind, most people picture an emaciated person of Jewish descent waiting at the gates of a recently abandoned concentration camp for the arrival of Allied forces there to liberate them from the horrors they've witnessed. While portraying accurately the condition of survivors of concentration camps during World War II, this schema completely neglects a much larger and completely different category of Holocaust survivors. The highest rate of survival among European Jews in the Holocaust actually occurred among those Jews who managed to escape east, into the vast expanses of the Soviet Union. More specifically, Polish Jews made up as much as 41% of the entire Jewish refugee population, numbering approximately 525,000-725,000.[1] As much as 80% of the 300,000-350,000 Polish Jews alive at the end of the war spent the duration of the conflict within the territories of the Soviet Union.[2] Before World War II, Poland served as a hotbed of European Jewdom, as a high concentration of Europe's Jews lived dispersed throughout the precariously situation country. When the Nazis invaded beginning on 1 September 1939, vast numbers of Polish Jews took flight away from the advancing doom towards eastern Poland and, a few weeks later, Soviet-occupied Poland. From there, the paths of these Polish Jews diverged through a number of routes: east, into the Soviet Union's interior; southeast, into Central Asia; metaphorical "west," remaining in the forests of occupied Poland or joining the Soviet Red

[1] Arieh Tartakower, "The Jewish Refugees: A Sociological Survey," *Jewish Social Studies* 4, no. 4 (1942)
[2] John Goldlust, "A Different Silence: The Survival of More Than 200,000 Polish Jews in the Soviet Union During World War II as a Case Study in Cultural Amnesia," *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 21, no. 1 (2012)

Army; and a number of other less-traveled routes. The stories of these Jews vary just as much as the paths they have taken.

Before delving into the means by which a majority of Holocaust survivors managed to endure such an extensive genocide, it is important to note a couple of methods that did not experience much success. Those Jews who opted to stay in western Poland, trusting the civility of the Germans or hoping to tough out the conflict with family, did not fare well—only a few thousand remained at the end of the war. Residents of eastern Poland, both native and refugee, who remained there after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union as part of Operation Barbarossa in 1941, also had little chance for survival as *Einsatzgruppen* and other units swept the area, conducting mass shootings and deportations to concentration and death camps.[3] Lastly, a number of Jews who managed to reach Soviet-occupied Poland subsequently sought out paths to Romania or Hungary through holes in the Russian border.[4] Those who did were sometimes robbed and turned in by the Poles they paid to escort them, while others fell victim to trigger-happy guards. Those who did make it found their salvation short-lived, as the Nazi grasp eventually reached Romania and Hungary as well. In a confusing, chaotic, and uncertain time, Polish Jews and their families fell into dire situations and made split-second decisions. Taking the wrong path cost countless lives.

The rest of this paper focuses on the three major routes that found success for Jews seeking an escape from the region Timothy Snyder coined as the "Bloodlands" of Europe.[5] It looks at both on-the-ground and top-down perspectives, examining personal experiences and larger government policies that interacted and, at times, conflicted, as the Soviet Union sought to

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[3] Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992)
[4] Joachim Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs: Jews in the Lwów Ghetto, the Janowski Concentration Camp, and as Deportees in Siberia* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1985)
[5] Timothy Snyder, Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2010)

win its war and Polish Jews sought simply to survive. Despite the antagonism and hardships which life in the Soviet Union brought, the U.S.S.R. turned out to be the lesser of two evils for Polish Jews, as it provided them with an opportunity to survive at a much greater rate than under Nazi-occupation, and to do so relatively free from persecution based on their Jewish identities.

First, to the East: Into the Soviet Union

With the opening of the war with Poland on 1 September 1939, the Jews of Poland had at least some level of awareness of the potential dangers that faced them. Discrimination, humiliation, and violence against Jews under the Nazi regime were by no means kept behind closed doors. And so, at the start of the blitzkrieg that shocked Poland and shattered any form of organized military resistance, the Jewish residents of western Poland took off to the east to avoid the reach of the *Wehrmacht*. A number managed to reach what would become Soviet-occupied Poland only a couple weeks later, on 17 September 1939, in accordance with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Agreement between Hitler and Stalin. Many more had yet to cross what would become a well-guarded border between the new territories of the two imperial powers. For the first few months of this new border's existence, movement remained essentially open and unrestricted,[6] meaning that Jews who wished to try their luck under the Soviets rather than the Nazis had an easy opportunity before them. For most Polish Jews, as well as most residents of Poland, there existed endless confusion, uncertainty, and doubts about what to do in such a surprising situation. Numerous young Polish men responded to a call for those of fighting age to push east and convene to form a military resistance near Warsaw,[7] while those with family had a harder time deciding to uproot their lives and move east. The trip east itself proved dangerous,

[6] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"
[7] Gabriel Temkin, *My Just War: The Memoir of a Jewish Red Army Soldier in World War II* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1998)

as retreating military units moving alongside the pedestrian evacuees gave German bombers and fighters easy targets.[8] Nevertheless, by 1940, as many as 400,000 Polish Jews had crossed the border despite the danger it posed them after the border closed in December 1939.[9] Several memoirs recount spending various numbers of days in the no-man's land between each power's guards, unable to turn back to the Nazis—who may have actually forced them out in the first place, even providing them with the necessary documentation—and unable to enter the Soviet's side. Trapped without a home in a land filled with armed guards, these Jews endured enormous stress. Some, such as Rose Kryger and her family,[10] tried to pay Polish smugglers, although these events sometimes resulted in robbery and delivery to guards as it almost did with the Krygers. Eventually, after waiting two weeks for the Soviets to open the border to no avail, they opted to make a run for it at night to avoid getting shot or captured. Some Jews, such as Kryger and her family, found success in these illegal means, although many others managed to get in through legal means when the Soviets reopened the border shortly after the Krygers' escape.

Once on the Soviet side of the border, most refugee Jews headed for the cities of Białystok or Lwów. Each city already held substantial Jewish populations, providing hope for incoming Polish Jews.[11] However, with 300,000-400,000 refugees arriving in Białystok alone, these cities began to suffocate.[12] They were economically not prepared to handle so many newcomers so quickly and resources, jobs, and opportunities all ran scarce, quickly. Any available housing was needed by the Soviets to shelter personnel from the Union itself who were coming out to help with the annexation process. The only refugees who found work were

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[8] Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs*
[9] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"
[10] Henry Welch and Rose Kryger, *A Passover in Rome* (New York, NY: Vantage Press, Inc, 2004)
[11] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"
[12] Sara Bender, *The Jews of Bialystok During World War II and the Holocaust* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008); Ben-Cion Pinchuk, "Jewish Refugees in Soviet Poland, 1939-1941," *Jewish Social Studies* 40, no. 2 (1978)

primarily intellectuals. To add to these problems, the local population—both Jewish and non-Jewish—resented the sheer numbers of western Polish Jews. As one local Jew put it, "all [they] have brought us is lice and inflation."[13] Although Jewish natives tried to help out, they could not alleviate the problems brought by such an influx of people. Many refugees quickly ascertained that these cities could not serve as final destinations for them. This was the case with Rose Kryger and her family;[14] once they met up with her husband, Sam, they befriended a Russian military doctor who offered to help them find shelter in Pinsk. Throughout the course of their journey, the Krygers would find that the connections and friends they made with individuals from the Soviet Union, particularly members of the military, would reward them with assistance when they truly needed it. These connections, and the luck required to have made them, proved essential in the survival of countless Jews throughout their journey into the Motherland.

For those Jews who decided to leave eastern Poland, a decisive crossroads presented itself. The Soviet Union had a massive problem on its hands with such a significant refugee population. Enacting specific citizenship policies, it determined, would help solve the overcrowding issue as well as provide some much needed labor. Partially out of humanitarian concerns, but primarily out of the desire to begin a process of "sovietization" of its new annexed territory,[15] the Soviet Union granted automatic Soviet citizenship to all those living in the newly annexed territory. Simultaneously, it extended the offer of Soviet citizenship to all those Jews who fled into the U.S.S.R. from the territory conquered by the Nazis.[16] Most rejected citizenship, as they desired to return home to Poland as soon as the war had ended and feared that becoming citizens would prevent them from ever getting out of the Union. Furthermore,

[13] Bender, *The Jews of Bialystok*, 56
[14] Welch and Kryger, Passover in Rome
[15] Pinchuk, "Jewish Refugees in Soviet Poland"
[16] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"; Snyder, *Bloodlands*

Soviet passports contained an infamous Paragraph 11, which restricted all holders' freedom of location and movement to small villages at least 100km from the Soviet border.[17] Understandably, Polish Jews had their reservations about accepting this deal; most who originally did tended to lean left or had supported the Communist Party prior to the outbreak of the war. Eventually, however, the Soviet Union ordered all refugees to register with the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and either accept citizenship or declare the intent to return home to Nazi-occupied Poland.

By this time, a large number of Jewish refugees in eastern Poland had decided they didn't enjoy Soviet rule and opted to return to the Nazi-occupied portion of Poland. Many sought to reunite with family, others simply to return home, and still more assumed that Nazi occupation couldn't possibly get worse than what they had experienced under the Soviets.[18] One family could not find work, almost dying of hunger before buying tickets back despite the illegal nature of their act and the danger of the NKVD finding out.[19] In another instance, a German officer even turned to Jews voluntarily moving back to the Nazi side of the border and asked them why they were going back when they knew the Nazis would kill them. Most of the Jews Rose Kryger's family knew upon reaching Białystok decided to return to their families and homes rather than accept Soviet citizenship and give up their Polish identities.[20] Although they may not have known the certainty with which they guaranteed their deaths by moving back, these Jews certainly grasped the potential danger of returning to German rule. That they even considered going back an option speaks to the harshness of (early) refugee life in the Soviet Union and the

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[17] Pinchuk, "Jewish Refugees in Soviet Poland"
[18] Atina Grossmann, "Remapping Relief and Rescue: Flight, Displacement, and International Aid for Jewish Refugees During World War II," *New German Critique* 117, vol. 39, no. 3 (2012), accessed December 14, 2014, doi:10.1215/0094033X-1677264; Temkin, *My Just War*
[19] Jan T. Gross, *Revolution From Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002)
[20] Welch and Kryger, *Passover in Rome*

indecision regarding which totalitarian power represented the greatest chance for survival. Again, at this point in the war, a plethora of Polish Jews made the best choice they could come up with in such a confusing environment, and many paid for it with their lives.

Those who did not opt to return west were faced with a tough decision: accepting Soviet citizenship or adamantly refusing it and facing the consequences. The Soviets sought to make Soviet citizenship more attractive with the offer of employment deeper in Russia for any volunteers who became citizens. This would help solve the refugee problem in many eastern Polish cities as well as begin sovietization and provide labor.[21] Skilled workers who could produce quality products obtained good jobs through this program. One Jew, Leo Cooper, registered as a turner and got special status as a resettled person, rather than just a refugee; another, Zyga Elton, accepted Soviet citizenship and took a scholarship at a teachers' college.[22] In high demand in smaller towns as well as larger centers were teachers, engineers, technicians, accountants, physicians, and so on.[23] However, for most others these opportunities proved hollow. Much of the recruitment came for jobs in coal mines in the Ural Mountains, which provided unhealthy and difficult work.[24] Volunteer workers through these programs dealt with poor living and working conditions, unemployment, hunger, and so on; although some single males may have done well, families had no chance of living a decent life, and volunteers required special authorization to go back legally according to Soviet policy. Word spread, and volunteers dropped sharply in numbers.[25] Again, we notice a conflict between the drive for survival among Polish Jewish refugees and the goals of the Soviet state, resulting in illegal acts from the former and repressive attempts at population and social control from the latter. Both

[21] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"; Pinchuk, "Jewish Refugees in Soviet Poland"
[22] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"
[23] Pinchuk, "Jewish Refugees in Soviet Poland"
[24] Welch and Kryger, *Passover in Rome*
[25] Gross, *Revolution From Abroad*; Pinchuk, "Jewish Refugees in Soviet Poland"

sides had profound roles in determining the fates of the Polish Jews residing in the Soviet Union in World War II.

Perhaps the most crucial aspect of the journey east for so many Polish Jews was the series of deportations into the desolate interior of the Soviet Union. In 1940-1941, the Soviet Union determined that any refugees who did not accept Soviet citizenship were still loyal to Poland and thus enemies of the state, using this as justification for their deportation to gulags or other hard labor camps in the frigid north or in Siberia. These deportations proved efficient and swift, although they happened to catch some Jews who *did* accept Soviet citizenship as well. John Goldlust estimates that 100,000-200,000 Polish Jews became victims of Soviet deportations, while other estimates were more generous, climbing as high as 500,000.[26] Numerous testimonials claim that NKVD officers knocked on families' doors in the middle of the night, gave them a few minutes to pack their belongings, and shipped them off by train shortly thereafter.[27] After refugees caught on and began hiding or relocating, the NKVD began rounding people up in the streets or deceiving those who tried to hide. More than a handful of testimonials described miserable conditions aboard the cattle cars they took to their respective locations. Each car was overcrowded so that people could not stretch their legs; food was scarce; the weather was cold; and so on. One passenger, Zev Katz, actually reported a relaxed and curious atmosphere aboard his car, however, citing that the scenery was beautiful and the guards were interested in hearing about the refugees' lives in Poland.[28] After uncertain lengths of time—days, weeks, sometimes even a month—passengers arrived at their remote destinations.

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[26] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"; Henryk Grynberg, *Children of Zion*, trans. Jacqueline Mitchell (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1997)
[27] Grynberg, *Children of Zion*; Milton Kleinberg, *Bread or Death: Memories of My Childhood During and After the Holocaust* (Fifth Generation Books, 2014); Lucy Lipiner, *Long Journey Home: A Young Girl's Memoir of Surviving the Holocaust* (Tuckerton, NJ: Usher Publishing, 2013); Welch and Kryger, *Passover in Rome*; etc.
[28] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"

Although the train ride represented only the beginning of the trials these refugees would face, the simple act of being deported granted them significantly more luck than others.

Most Jews who accepted Soviet citizenship remained in territory where the Soviets would abandon them in a hasty retreat at the start of Operation Barbarossa, and they would fall into the hands of the Nazis and into an unfortunate fate. Those Jews became victims of a Soviet Union concerned more with resources than people, whom it deemed expendable, and with avoiding a policy that signaled defeatism.[29] No Soviet policy was put in place to evacuate Jews in eastern Europe when the Germans began their invasion, despite the fact that the Soviet leadership knew well the unique dangers the Jews faced.[30] Although some Soviet officers explicitly helped Jews escape, it appears as though no well-planned Soviet evacuation policy existed at all other than that industry resources and workers held priority. Further, the limitations that Soviet policy placed on refugees holding Soviet passports provided further hindrances to any attempts to escape. Those Jews residing in eastern Poland fell victim to a combination of policies and incompetencies that ultimately sealed their fates without consulting them much at all.

Those who did get moved out of these territories to the isolated work camps of northern Russia and Siberia probably didn't recognize the great fortune that befell them. Working as slave-laborers in a region with no hope of escape and only the harshest of winters, these Jews dealt with long hours in physically demanding jobs, high work quotas, a sincere lack of food, and disease and lice/bedbug infestations which made life a veritable hell.[31] The presence of some residents still there from the purges gave a sense of truth to the notion that these Jews would

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[29] Rebecca Manley, *To the Tashkent Station: Evacuation and Survival in the Soviet Union at War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009)

[30] Ben-Cion Pinchuk, "Was There a Soviet Policy for Evacuating the Jews?: The Case of the Annexed Territories," *Slavic Review* 39, no. 1 (1980)

[31] Yitzkhak Erlichson, *My Four Years in Soviet Russia*, trans. Maurice Wolfthal (Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2013); Welch and Kryger, *Passover in Rome*; Dorit Bader Whiteman, *Escape Via Siberia: A Jewish Child's Odyssey of Survival* (New York, NY: Homes & Meier Publishers, Inc, 1999); etc.

remain in this camp as long as they remained on this Earth. Conditions were so harsh that 10% of Jewish refugees that ended up in Siberia did not survive the labor camps, many of them children who could not withstand the bitter cold. Having traveled as far east as possible, these Polish Jews found a refuge from the Nazi threat, but not necessarily one they idealized. To them, arriving in Siberia did not mean survival, but rather simply the delay of an inevitable death, one that their Jewish brethren may have already met back in former Poland. Left in such a remote location, they became largely disconnected from the world and accepted that they would see the end of their days in these camps. When Operation Barbarossa began, many were completely unaware until receiving news of their amnesty. Then new doors for survival opened.

Escaping to a Warmer Climate: Central Asia

Just as a web of political decisions made by the Stalin and the Soviet Union to use the presence of Polish refugees for their own utilitarian benefit brought these refugees to the extreme interior of the U.S.S.R., another set of political decisions liberated them from these harsh work camps to which they were indefinitely sentenced approximately one year earlier. After the Germans initiated their invasion of Soviet territory on 22 June 1941, the Soviets joined the Allies, to which the Polish government-in-exile belonged. This meant that Poland officially became an ally of the Soviet Union, and thus all Polish refugees were no longer enemies of the state, but rather allies themselves. Stalin no longer had justification for holding them as slave-laborers, and he granted amnesty to all Polish citizens living in the U.S.S.R.[32] Soviet officers informed the prisoners that they were now free citizens and could go anywhere within the Union that they wanted provided that they had documentation, which was furnished to them shortly after notification. Rose Kryger noted that these officers proposed the opportunity to stay at the

[32] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"

labor camps to help out the country which needed them, and that they would receive better pay and conditions; however, everyone was ready to move on to anywhere else.[33] In Kryger's experience, the documentation required that they pre-select a final destination—certainly another element of Soviet population control. Most Jewish refugees at this time had no clue what was happening in the world around them or where they might go to obtain the best chances. Kryger's family overheard numerous Jews talking about going to Central Asia. Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan all had warmer climates, and cities such as Bukhara and Samarkand had sizable Jewish populations. Furthermore, these cities supposedly had work available as a result of the Soviet relocation of industry for the war effort, and the vicinity of these cities with Iran and India meant hope for escape from the U.S.S.R. entirely.[34]

Initially a breath of fresh air and a new sight to behold, the prospects for life in these cities grew rather dim, rather quickly. In addition to the cities' native populations of Jews, Russians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and so on, each city quickly became flooded with refugees, who littered the streets, even at night.[35] Numerous memoirs describe epidemics of hunger, homelessness, unemployment, hunger, and anxiety. Lice were ever present, and typhus and dysentery spread rapidly throughout refugee populations crowded in close proximity. The stress of life in these cities only worsened the issues. Just like with the cities of eastern Poland early in these journeys, it became clear to many that one could not stay here for very long. Some refugees' testimonies even claimed that life in Samarkand, as well as other cities in the region, was harder than in the labor camps in Siberia. Archival data backs this up; many of those who survived the frigid Siberian winters at labor camps ended up dying while in Central Asia.[36]

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[33] Welch and Kryger, *Passover in Rome*
[34] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"
[35] Grynberg, *Children of Zion*
[36] Grynberg, *Children of Zion*

Rose Kryger's story illustrates the conditions of survival in Central Asia quite well.[37] After finding their own way out of Siberia, they finally reached Kazakhstan and traveled through to Bukhara, which Kryger described as a "Mecca" of refugees, but whose beauty and wondrous qualities quickly wore off. The family continued moving throughout Central Asia, of their own volition and essentially without interference from the Soviet government, looking for a means to sustain themselves. They traveled through Turkestan and Tashkent and couldn't find an adequate job or place to stay. Local inhabitants—poor Kazakhs and Uzbeks, among others—provided kind and generous, aiding the family with food and menial jobs whenever possible. Finally, the Krygers settled in Leninabad, found a good home to rent, a means to obtain food (which had been the most important thing on their minds up until this point), and employment. The family registered with the NKVD. Rose's husband, Sam, got a job in a factory making canned goods for the Red Army and rapidly proved his worth as a worker. By this time, most refugees and deportees who had accepted Soviet citizenship had been drafted into the Red Army, but Sam's value as a worker, combined with the Krygers' refusal to accept citizenship, protected them from his mobilization. In its place, Sam received a stateless document which declared his special status so that nobody tried to recruit or mobilize him into the Red Army. Once more, refusing to accept Soviet citizenship may have saved the lives of family members.

Even this story of relative stability did not remain, however, as the factory eventually moved closer to the front after the Soviets began to gain ground again. Fortunately, the Krygers were able to live out the rest of their refugee days thanks to their persistence and good fortune. Sam was provided with a stateless document that would prevent anybody he came across from trying to mobilize him into a military force. Once more, in the face of uncertainty, Polish Jews

[37] Welch and Kryger, *Passover in Rome*

managed to survive by persisting, taking action out of necessity, and having a little luck (particularly in dealing with Soviet policy and government). These trends reoccur throughout memoirs of survivors who fled east, then turned south towards the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union. Although the obstacles faced, including hunger, unemployment, overcrowding, and disease, all remained the same between Central Asia and the other locations on their journeys, numerous refugees remembered fondly the warm interactions with the local Russians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and other peoples they encountered throughout their time in the region and sincerely thanked them for their compassion.[38] The times may have been difficult, but survivors genuinely appreciated the efforts of those around them.

Pushing Back West: The Fight for Freedom

An entirely different group of Polish Jews went in an entirely different direction from those who fled into the depths of the Soviet Union. A number of Jews did what they could to fight back and resist the Nazi war machine, or to at the very least survive within its midst. Some Jews initially fled east, but (voluntarily or otherwise) joined the Red Army as a means of fighting back to liberate their friends and family. Others escaped from their villages or ghettos and linked up with partisan groups, through which they managed to pose armed resistance. Still others escaped but did not join partisan brigades, instead surviving in the forest primarily by avoiding detection from German units. Finally, midway through the war, a Polish army formed in the U.S.S.R. that Polish Jews attempted to take advantage of.

The Red Army benefited from the service and sacrifice of millions upon millions of Soviet soldiers, among them countless Jews. While it is tough to ascertain just how many Jews serving in the Red Army came in as Polish refugees, a few statistics on broader Jewish activity

[38] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"

exist.[39] Approximately 500,000 Jewish soldiers fought for the Soviets, and a full 200,000 of them were reported as killed or missing in action. Out of those 500,000, a full 160,000 received medals for their bravery; 50 Jewish officers obtained the rank of General; and 123 Jewish soldiers obtained the highest military honor awarded in Stalin's Motherland: Hero of the Soviet Union. These statistics help demonstrate what other documentation and testimonials back up—that Jews fought valiantly for the Red Army cause, and that they were more likely to be decorated for their bravery.[40] As for Polish Jews specifically, there were definitely instances in which they were drafted into the Red Army or volunteered to serve. Before the Nazi invasion of eastern Poland, the Red Army had drafted a number of Jews out of the region.[41] In fact these Jews were among the only ones which managed to escape the Nazi invasion in Soviet evacuations. It is also possible that the Red Army advancing towards Berlin drafted some Jews from Polish cities after liberating them, as one author explains happened to his son.[42] By this point in the war, the Red Army simply needed more and more bodies, particularly ones that could be mobilized and shipped to the front quickly, so it would make sense that they drafted any remaining men in the territories they had annexed before Operation Barbarossa.

Despite these testimonials, it seems that a significant number of Polish Jews were not drafted into the Polish army until later in the war, around 1944. Even then, most Polish Jewish draftees found themselves as part of labor battalions rather than combat units.[43] Two Jews, Leo Cooper and Zyga Elton, were both called up into these battalions; Cooper worked in a maintenance shop, although most worked in coal mines. Gabriel Temkin also served some time

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[39] Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945: The Years of Extermination* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007)
[40] Snyder, *Bloodlands*
[41] Pinchuk, "Was There a Soviet Policy for Evacuating the Jews?"
[42] Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs*
[43] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"; Temkin, *My Just War*

in a labor battalion, digging trenches and foxholes; after it was discovered that he was Jewish, they removed him from becoming a wireless operator on the front because they could not trust refugees with fighting earnestly for the Motherland.[44] It appears that the usage of Polish Jews in the Red Army was primarily driven by a lack of trust (at least in part due to the rejection of Soviet citizenship by many, although Temkin himself accepted) and a need for labor. Once more, Soviet policy sought to control the legal and physical status of Jewish refugees within its territory, solve the refugee problem, and make use of the plentiful amount of manpower in a way that would not compromise Soviet interests.

Gabriel Temkin's story actually provides an insightful case study into the experiences a Polish Jewish soldier might face in the Red Army.[45] Although his tale is extraordinary in many regards, it also likely portrays some of the experiences which all Polish Jews serving in the military shared. Temkin educated himself with incessant reading and became very smart and quick-thinking, which saved him a number of times throughout his journey; his readings also pushed him to lean left in political views, and he had actually logged some pro-Communist activity before the war. Temkin was among the scores of Jews who fled to Białystok initially; there he obtained a Soviet-issued passport and was drafted into the Red Army when the Nazis invaded. Despite the life-threatening nature of military duty, Temkin seemed unfazed by the potential death he would face in combat, instead eager to fight what he terms his "just war" against the brutal and anti-Semitic Fascists of Nazi Germany. While working in the labor battalion, where he was sent after his Jewish identity became known, Temkin's unit and a couple thousand retreating Red Army soldiers were abandoned by the NKVD officers and encircled by the Nazi blitzkrieg. For a brief period, Temkin lived out his worst fear: falling into the hands of

[44] Temkin, *My Just War*
[45] Ibid.

the Nazis. Time and time again Temkin stressed his preference for death in combat over falling into their hands. In his time in captivity he witnessed some of the atrocities that guards committed, often times simply for their amusement. Temkin managed to escape his prisoner-of-war (POW) camp on his second attempt—a peculiar opportunity given that most POWs were killed as soon as they were caught escaping, although hiding his Jewish identity certainly helped him—and made his way to an NKVD office.

Once in NKVD hands again, Temkin had to pass a verification process to ensure that he hadn't collaborated with the Germans.[46] This feat proved somewhat more remarkable for him, given his hometown in what was contemporarily German territory and his knowledge of the German language. He had passed, however, possibly because the NKVD really needed new men and could not afford to fulfill execution quotas. Once reinstated, the Red Army decided to make use of his language skills and put him in a reconnaissance unit as the regiment's translator. Although his identity as a Polish Jew resulted in rejection from officer school each time his superiors attempted to enroll him, Temkin advanced through the ranks and performed a number of important duties for his more tightknit recon unit. With his brothers in arms, Temkin neither hid nor advertised his Jewishness. Reactions to his identity varied: some could not believe that such a "nice guy" could be Jewish; others felt sympathy for his and his people's plight, and still more could not care less. Most just wanted to hear more about his Polish origin. Temkin reported occasional Jewish jokes going around, but noted that the Russian soldiers he fought with primarily made fun of national minorities, or *natsmen*. Thus, at least in Temkin's case, treatment by fellow Red Army soldiers was relatively tame. Temkin made numerous close friends and did not experience any serious discrimination in his unit. One must note, however,

[46] Temkin, *My Just War*

that Temkin's pro-Soviet and pro-Communist leanings likely helped him along these lines. Polish Jews in the Red Army who were less accepting of Communism and of Soviet rule may have received less brotherly treatment.

Temkin had the fortune of taking part in the liberation of both Romania and Hungary. The speed of the Red Army moving through Romania resulted in the salvation of countless Jews, and in Hungary their actions managed to save a full 120,000 of the 200,000 Jews living in Budapest. Reflecting on these liberations, he stated: "Not for the first time I was proud to be part and parcel of this just war."[47] Temkin appeared to be motivated highly by helping his own people and by getting revenge on the Nazis, whom he hated more than death. Throughout his tour of duty, Temkin further fueled himself with the faint hope that his family had survived and the desire to survive the war to get back to his soon-to-be wife, Hanna. This trifecta—a desire for revenge, a drive to help his people, and a need to reunite with his family—helped push Temkin through a war that otherwise claimed the lives of over 40% of Jews who fought in his army. Naturally, as the motif holds, luck certainly played out for him; for instance, he was pulled back from the frontline before his unit was sent to assault a deadly barricade because of a clerical error that placed him as legally dead. However, Temkin managed both to survive a war which most of his people did not, and to actively participate in his "just war" of liberation and revenge. Interestingly, Temkin's desire for revenge tempered when he entered Hungary, where he saw people like himself: hungry, tired, sick of German control, and afraid. Temkin managed to keep himself in check on his desire for revenge, putting his ultimate goals above any petty acts or violent reprisals.

[47] Temkin, *My Just War*, 192

Thus, Temkin's story provides us with an idea of what it might have been like to serve as a Polish Jewish soldier in the Red Army.[48] His motivations clear and understandable, even if his lack of fear of death proved surprising, Temkin had generally positive experiences in his tenure with the Red Army and received quite positive treatment. Perhaps, for Polish Jews who hadn't accepted Soviet authority, these experiences would be different; or, maybe brotherhood in war trumped all. Nevertheless, the participation of Polish Jews in the liberation of Eastern Europe and of their own people proved to be a monumental occurrence and an important way to contribute as a refugee, rather than seeking asylum from the war, even if it provided a much lower chance for survival.

Another means of armed resistance from Polish Jews was that of partisanship. Over the course of the war, a large number of Jews decided to try their luck in escaping the ghetto where they would otherwise be confined until being led to the slaughter like livestock. Those who survived their escape attempts fled into the surrounding forests and, from there, either gathered with other new refugees or encountered partisan units to try to join. Polish Jews often served as innovators of partisan warfare and proved invaluable as fighters.[49] However, actually getting into partisan groups was both difficult and dangerous. The Nazis placed ambushes by forcing Jews to spy on these partisan groups, pretending to be escapees themselves, and this made partisan groups wary of stragglers, who they often shot without even giving a chance.[50] Hundreds of Jews died this way, partisans not realizing their mistakes until it was too late. Other partisan groups robbed Jews of their weaponry or simply rejected them for being Jewish or for not having arms of their own. Most groups would accept new partisans but required that they

[48] Temkin, *My Just War*
[49] Reuben Ainsztein, "The War Record of Soviet Jewry," *Jewish Social Studies* 28, no. 1 (1966)
[50] Yehuda Merin and Jack Nusan Porter, "Three Jewish Family-Camps in the Forests of Volyn, Ukraine During the Holocaust," *Jewish Social Studies* 46, no. 1 (1984); Faye Schulman, *A Partisan's Memoir: Woman of the Holocaust* (Toronto, ON: Second Story Press, 1995)

furnish their own weapons, either out of a shortage of arms or as a test of bravery and daring, as was the case with Charles Gelman.[51] Thus, Jews in the forest continued to navigate a dangerous landscape and a complex set of interactions and relationships in which they did not know who they could trust.

Jews who didn't make it into partisan groups, or who did not seek out partisan groups (generally middle-aged men, women, or children), became "Jews of the forest" and had to try to organize as much as possible given their precarious situation of hiding and scavenging.[52] Many of these escapees gathered together and set up family-camps throughout Eastern Europe. Partisan groups often viewed these family camps with disdain as simply more mouths to feed, questioning why they moved to the forest if they would not fight the Nazis. Some partisan groups grew violent with family-camps, although in other cases, partisan groups developed relationships of mutual benefit with these Jews and provided protection in exchange for labor and other services. Additionally, these camps had difficulties determining how to organize—some people wanted to keep the camp small to avoid detection, while others wanted extra labor and called for Jews to stick to the mission of saving as many of them as possible. These camps were ravaged with hunger and disease, and the Nazi discovery of them would mean almost certain death. Although maybe 10,000 Jews survived in family-camps throughout Europe, many, many more Jews originally entered the forests but died over the course of the war. For instance, in Charles Gelman's memoir, he stays with a family-camp for a brief period before moving on.[53] The Nazis learned that no partisan groups inhabited that portion of the woods, and came in and obliterated the family-camp shortly after Gelman moved on.

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[51] Charles Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in Poland, 1941-1945* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1989)
[52] Merin and Porter, "Three Jewish Family-Camps"
[53] Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*

Those Jews who did gain acceptance into partisan groups had unique experiences. Faye Schulman was born in Lenin in eastern Poland.[54] The Nazis spared her life along with 26 others when they liquidated the Lenin ghetto, requesting her photography expertise. During a partisan raid, she escaped to the forest and joined the Molotava Brigade, made mostly of escaped Soviet Red Army POWs, serving as a nurse until a later raid on Lenin when she recovered her photography equipment. One of the only women in the partisan brigade, Schulman served as a photographer for the unit throughout the war. She captured moments of brotherhood among the Jews and non-Jews of her unit, although the unit demonstrated pretty heavy anti-Semitism. Schulman describes the experience of Jews serving in the unit as one of constant scrutiny. Jews who moved too quickly were patronized for thinking they were "better than" the rest, while Jews who lagged behind got called cowards. Jews consistently had to justify their right to fight and prove themselves in battle, volunteering for the most dangerous missions. Whenever a Jew had a failure, it supposedly reflected on all Jews. Yet when a Jew had a major triumph, credit went to the commander of the unit. Nevertheless, Schulman explains that Jews continued to fight valiantly for their cause and many even attained leadership roles and ranks within the partisanship.

Charles Gelman details a different experience, particularly due to his combat role within his unit.[55] Gelman's escapee group had a connection to a partisan group nearby, giving them confidence of acceptance into the unit. However, in the darkness of their escape they got lost and came across the family camp described earlier. Gelman and a couple others opted to move on, encountering more and more partisan groups the further north they moved. Eventually they came across a hidden route partisans had been using to escort Jews to the U.S.S.R. for months—

[54] Schulman, *A Partisan's Memoir*
[55] Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*

an unconventional route to survival—although the Germans attacked and closed this route shortly after Gelman's discovery. Gelman experienced rejection after rejection from brigades he asked to join until he finally got into the Utkin brigade after passing their test of securing a weapon from nearby a German garrison. Thinking back to his first experience in battle, Gelman remarked that "for me, the master-slave relationship died on the battlefield that April day."[56] Gelman eloquently spoke for the feelings of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who took up arms against the Nazis in that quote. Although Jews under Nazi domination were treated and used as worthless, inhuman slaves, as soon as he had a weapon Gelman was on equal terms with the Nazis. They died from bullets just as he did. They no longer felt like this unreachable, immortal power. This feeling likely drove innumerable Jews to take up arms against their executioners and provide at least some form of resistance.

Gelman's brigade succeeded in numerous partisan operations before the Red Army liberated its area and disbanded the brigade, drafting its members into the conventional military.[57] The political officer from Gelman's brigade requested that Gelman be discharged because of his intelligence and ability to help build up the area again as an educator. Again, this stroke of luck and relationship with a figure of authority in the Soviet Union likely saved Gelman's life. The Utkin brigade, like most partisan brigades, was shipped to the frontlines without any formal military training, and almost the entire unit died within days. For his service and accomplishments, Gelman received a special certificate, which he later discovered helped open up better job opportunities for him. Thus, Gelman's story is another of courage in the face of danger and of the unknown, as well as a story of determination to do what it takes to survive. All this came with a stroke of luck from the top-down decision making process of the Soviet

[56] Ibid., 136
[57] Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*

authorities. Schulman's experience proved similarly enriching, as she portrayed the injustices faced even by Jewish freedom fighters, but also the fact that Jews did not go silently. Jews indeed took up arms and posed a resistance to the Nazi behemoth, even if they could not stand up to them entirely on their own.

One final route west existed, although it represents a highly peculiar case for Jewish refugees. After the Soviets and Poles became allies and amnesty was granted to Jewish deportees, the government allowed Władysław Anders—a former Soviet prisoner himself—to form an army consisting of Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R. to help fight the Nazis.[58] This army became known as Anders' Army and recruited heavily in northern Kazakhstan. Polish Jewish refugees flocked to recruiting stations, particularly after it became known that the army might travel through Iran and the Middle East, meaning a chance existed to desert to Palestine. In fact, Jews might have comprised 40-60% of the recruits for Anders' Army had they not been turned away after undergoing humiliating tests/inspections and being told they could not fight and were unreliable Poles for supporting the Soviet Union.[59] Although anti-Semitism itself played a role here, the army also feared Jewish desertion in Palestine and had concerns for the patriotism of those Poles who accepted Soviet citizenship upon entering the Union. These Jews were no longer viewed as "Polish," and the Poles organizing the army feared they would serve as a "fifth column" for the Soviets, working towards a sovietization of Poland after the war. Among the numerous individuals rejected from Anders' Army were Zyga Elton, Larry Wenig, and Yitzkhak Erlichson,[60] some of whom tried multiple times to join. All in all, about 6,000 Jews made it into the unit, about 3,500 as soldiers and 2,500 as family members. The fear of desertion proved

[58] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"
[59] Grossmann, "Remapping Relief and Rescue"
[60] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"; Erlichson, *My Four Years in Soviet Russia*

valid, as a majority of those Jews ended up leaving Anders' Army in Palestine, including future Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.[61]

Traveling alongside Anders' Army were about 900 kids, all at least partial orphans, who became known as the Teheran Children. Whiteman's account of one Teheran Child's life story portrayed a sad but inspiring story of survival.[62] Lonek was ten when his family left Poland to escape the Germans. They traveled the route to Siberia and worked in labor camps there before following the migration pattern towards Central Asia after amnesty. In Tashkent, his father fell deathly ill and his mother became desperate and worried about being unable to feed the entire family. Lonek's mother opted to give him a better chance by dropping him off at an already-overcrowded orphanage, which reluctantly took him in. Desperate parents and children often viewed orphanages as a beacon of hope despite their overcrowded nature, and they had to compete with one another for entrance.[63] With this orphanage, Lonek became one of the lucky children to move with Anders' Army to a new home in Palestine, although the group became stranded in Teheran for almost eight months when the Middle East refused to grant them passage to Palestine. After taking a long route around the Middle East, the children finally received a welcome "home" in Palestine where they began new, stable lives. This story presents yet another way in which Jewish refugees survived by any means necessary.

Unconventional Routes

Two other routes allowed for the survival of Polish Jews throughout the war, although they played much more insignificant roles in the broad picture. The first is the city of Vilnius, in Lithuania. Many Jews fleeing the Nazi onslaught saw Vilnius as a viable option because of its

[61] Grossmann, "Remapping Relief and Rescue"
[62] Whiteman, *Escape Via Siberia*
[63] Grynberg, *Children of Zion*

recent history of tolerance and acceptance of Jewish culture and heritage.[64] The flow into the city was at its highest point while the Soviets left an open border, but it continued even after they shut it down. Many died of frostbite or other dangers on their way to Vilnius, and most Jews entering Vilnius did not even wish to settle there permanently, viewing it as a transitory stop on their escape route; yet, the only way out was through obtaining an official visa to a different country. Some managed to escape through this legal method, but the Soviets worked to inhibit departure of nonresidents, and host countries limited the amount of immigrants they would receive. All in all, no more than 6,000 Jewish refugees managed to escape Vilnius via visa, generally to Japan, Istanbul, or Iran/India (two of these routes had Palestine as a final destination in mind). In 1940, however, the Soviet Union took over all of Lithuania and deported all native and refugee Jews still there. Thus, we witness a converging of paths as those who initially fled north with the intention of escaping the continent were subject to the same deportations which saved the lives of countless Polish Jews who chose to move east.

The second route, to Shanghai, China, never served as the initial goal of Jewish refugees. Most started with Białystok, Kowel, or Lwów in eastern Poland.[65] However, because of the homelessness, hunger, and disease in these cities, many Jews chose to move on. A number traveled to Vilnius and obtained exit visas for Kobe, Japan from where they moved on to the open port of Shanghai, while others made their way to Vladivostok and took the Manchurian railroad south into Shanghai. In either case, Shanghai became a choice destination because of its status as an open port—this meant that no paperwork, visas, or any form of documentation

[64] Dov Levin, *The Lesser of Two Evils: Eastern European Jewry Under Soviet Rule, 1939-1941*, trans. Naftali Greenwood (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1995)
[65] Joseph R. Fiszman, "The Quest for Status: Polish Jewish Refugees in Shanghai, 1941-1949," *The Polish Review* 43, no. 3 (1998); Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*

restricted who could enter, removing a massive barrier to emigration.[66] As we witness with the other survival routes, documentation and paperwork issued by governments were crucial in determining the movement of Jewish refugees, even though many exhibited their own agency. With Shanghai, Jews did not have to wait around and compete with others to obtain exit visas. They simply had to physically make it there.

About 1,200 Polish refugees made it to Shanghai. Most were well-known professionals, although few made an attempt to pursue their occupation in Shanghai, except for the doctors and dentists; these refugees did not want to create any sense of permanency.[67] This permeated other aspects of their lives in Shanghai, too, as they avoided organizing themselves in any meaningful way or making connections with other groups living in their area. Life for them was relatively undisturbed by the Japanese, who did not know much about Jews and thus exhibited little anti-Semitism. They were not immune to the problems that faced other regions populated with refugees.[68] Bad sanitary conditions, hunger, disease, and infestations all made their rounds on the refugee population in Shanghai. However, the only harassment or coercion they faced came when the Japanese government had to institute some form of ghetto-like control as a member of the Axis Powers. These ghettos were wall-less, although Jews technically could not leave without proper permission. All in all, these Jews passed the war in relative quiet, and over time their desire to return to Poland faded away. Although only a handful of Jews made it to Shanghai, comparatively, the route proved a relatively efficient way to survive the war. Their time in Shanghai ended up relatively uneventful for them—in a good way, in this case.

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[66] Péter Vámos, "Home Afar: The Life of Central European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai During World War II," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 57, no. 1 (2004)
[67] Fiszman, "The Quest for Status"
[68] Fiszman, "The Quest for Status"; Vámos, "Home Afar"

Establishing a New Narrative

After the war, the paths of Polish Jewish refugees remained as disparate as their initial exodus out of Poland. Although few Polish Jews held positive opinions of the Soviet government and Soviet-brand Communism, most had fond memories of their interactions with the citizens of the U.S.S.R. and with the compassion and generosity with which the various Russians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and other peoples they encountered treated them.[69] Some 240,000-250,000 Polish refugees returned to Poland after the war, but there they found an inhospitable environment. Their home became a cemetery for Jews and a homogenously Polish nation exhibiting heavy anti-Semitism. A number of memoirs mention violence and hatred exhibited towards returning Jews, particularly in the pogrom at Kielce.[70] By 1947, over 140,000 Polish Jews had already left Poland once more, this time for good.[71] Those who remained largely represented the Jewish communists with a sense of duty for building a communist Poland.[72] Stalin's Soviet Union also trended towards anti-Semitism not long after the war ended, and many Jewish writers, activists, and intellectuals found themselves victims of purges before 1950.

Rose Kryger and the survivors in her family excitedly returned to their home in Łódź, but found out the unfortunate fates of the rest of their family. They immediately felt unwelcome, concluding that no future existed for Jews in Poland, and traveled to a Displaced Persons (DP) camp in Germany as an intermediary step in finding a new home.[73] This experience epitomized that of most Polish Jews after the war. Gabriel Temkin, after his positive experiences in the U.S.S.R., stayed a while before heading back to Poland after experiencing the growth in anti-

[69] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"
[70] Fiszman, "The Quest for Status"; Temkin, *My Just War*; Welch and Kryger, *Passover in Rome*; etc.
[71] Goldlust, "A Different Silence"
[72] Snyder, *Bloodlands*
[73] Welch and Kryger, *Passover in Rome*

Semitism in Stalin's Union.[74] About 20 years later, an anti-Semitic hysteria left him stateless, and he received admittance into the U.S.A. Faye Schulman married another Jewish partisan and left Poland for a DP camp in Germany before emigrating to Canada.[75] Charles Gelman held a more realistic perspective regarding what to expect after the war.[76] He knew and accepted his family's fate, but decided to head back to Poland anyway because, even though he knew the ending, he felt as though he had to read the epilogue. As Fiszman and Vámos discuss, the appeal of returning to Poland dissipated among Shanghai's refugees as they learned about the devastation it endured, and only a handful ended up making the trek back.[77] Others applied to emigrate to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South America, and other destinations.

These stories at once instill inspiration and tragedy. While they depict the various extreme ways that Polish Jews managed to survive the war, using courage, persistence, connections, and a little bit of luck, they also tell the depressing tale of the complete displacement of one from his home, his family, and the life he knew. These Jews had their entire worlds torn from them as they were thrust into a period of confusion, uncertainty, and desperation before all got quiet and they were left to pick up the few pieces that remained. Given the events that happened in Poland from 1939-1945, it is not at all surprising that most Polish Jews did not return to their homes permanently. When one loses everything but his life and, if lucky, a few loved ones, the only option for many is to preserve the good memories and escape the bad ones.

And yet, for all the devastation and suffering endured by these refugees—including deportation, forced labor, and constant hunger, homelessness, and hopelessness—these were the

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[74] Temkin, *My Just War*
[75] Schulman, *A Partisan's Memoir*
[76] Gelman, *Do Not Go Gentle*
[77] Fiszman, "The Quest for Status"; Vámos, "Home Afar"

Polish Jews that drew the best hand in World War II. Unbeknownst to them at the time, and ironically enough, the Soviet decision to deport them to the interior of the U.S.S.R. became the migration that saved them. Those who stayed behind in Poland, whether they opted to tough out German occupation, found jobs in eastern Poland, or accepted Soviet citizenship and resettled in eastern Poland or near the border of the Soviet Union, fell into the Nazi reach and perished. The hardships that Jews faced in Siberia and Central Asia may have seemed like delaying inevitable death, but in reality they provided the lesser of two evils and the best chance for survival. The death rate in Siberia may have reached 20-30%,[78] but that also meant a higher rate of survival than anywhere else. The issue facing those Jews who migrated to the interior was that, once in the U.S.S.R., the Soviets made it incredibly tough to get out. Polish Jewish refugees faced competition for survival on two levels: indirect competition with other fleeing Jews on the ground, and competition with the Soviet state which had its own goals from above. In Vilnius applying for visas, in eastern Poland and the U.S.S.R. looking for jobs and homes, and in Siberia and Central Asia obtaining food and sustenance, myriad Jews sought resources too limited to reach all. While collaboration and compassion were mainstream occurrences, the fact was that what one family took, another was left without. Additionally, as the Soviets sought to use the mass of refugees to begin a process of sovietization of Poland and to obtain a free labor force, they instituted numerous measures to restrict movement by requiring documentation or paperwork and by forcefully moving Jewish refugees. While some of the Soviet Union's motivation may have been humanitarian, and some of their actions indeed benefited the Jews' chances at survival, refugee Jews consistently faced the threat of discrimination, coercion, and deception from Soviet policy, such as the infamous Paragraph-11, forced deportations, and the

[78] Gross, *Revolution from Abroad*

promise of "good" jobs inside Russia. Jews engaged in bottom-up decision making, risk-taking, and illegal actions that went against the officially sanctioned government policy, frequently out of the concern for their own survival.

Another remarkable theme demonstrated by these stories is that of a converging of paths. Although these various routes to survival took refugee Jews throughout the continents of Europe and Asia, the paths of these Jews converged with great frequency. One illustration comes in the story of Rose Kryger.[79] Rose's sister, Sally, survived the ghetto and Auschwitz, and when the Red Army liberated Poland, she met two Polish-Jewish soldiers who happened to know Rose and told Sally to write to Leninabad to contact her. The paths of those who stayed in Poland, those who accepted Soviet citizenship to Russia, and those who the Soviets deported to Siberia all converged at once here. Other memoirs depict a crossing of paths as well, as Red Army soldiers, partisans, and Polish refugees frequently found themselves in the same place at the same time.

This merging of paths further demonstrates the unpredictability and luck that remained present throughout each individual's survival story. While one cannot discredit the bravery of Polish Jewish refugees, who stepped into the unknown simply out of a need to survive and courageously faced the endless tribulations awaiting them, one cannot help but consider the numerous coincidences that occurred throughout each story. These memoirs depict uncertainty, hope in a time of desperation, the sheer need for survival, and an ironic good fortune (particularly given that this fortune came from forced migration and labor or military service). These were the Jews who survived in both the greatest numbers and proportions.

And yet, when one imagines a Holocaust survivor, his mind immediately turns to that worn down silhouette of a figure standing in disbelief at the presence of Allied forces entering

[79] Welch and Kryger, *Passover in Rome*

their camp. The survivors of these camps no doubt endured much and deserve to have their stories told, but we must reconceptualize what it means to be a Holocaust survivor. Public knowledge of the numerous Jews who survived the Holocaust by entering the Soviet Union remains small in comparison with knowledge of the liberation of concentration camps. Perhaps this is because the Western Allies liberated most of the tens of thousands of victims of the camps, whereas Soviet liberators mostly found death camps where all that remained were the remains of those Jews whose luck ran out. Perhaps this is a result of the Cold War and the relative uncertainty to the American public of what occurred behind the iron curtain. Regardless, popular ideas of the Holocaust must reformulate itself to account for the fact that a majority of Holocaust survivors did not do so before the Nazis themselves, but rather just beyond their grasp, by escaping to an almost equally dangerous figure.

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